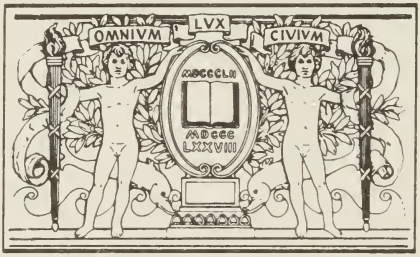

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Boston An Urban Community

Boston Architecture: From The First Townhouse to The New City Hall

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Douglas Shand Tucci
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

The "Boston: An Urban Community" Program is made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). The Boston Public Library is a NEH Learning Library.

Boston Public Library, 1976

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FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assist in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

The first two eight-week learning sequences were:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

INTRODUCTION

There are very few books in print--they are all here--that are only about Boston architecture. Many more books about Boston, however, deal at greater or lesser length with various of the city's buildings, though in larger contexts, and some of these will also be found listed here because they are often the best books to begin with. Obviously, one could go further. But precisely because I don't suppose any history of American or even of world architecture could very well avoid the inevitable illustration of Trinity Church or, indeed, of McKim's Boston Public Library, it would be unreasonable to do so. Students in search of such a general history of American architecture, into which they can fit Boston, might well read John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown's The Architecture of America (Boston, 1961).

There is another type of work that one might expect to find here, but which I have also ruled out; the very many books and articles that have been written about Boston architects and their artist-collaborators both here and elsewhere. Henry-Russell Hitchcock's and James O'Gorman's books about Richardson, Harold Kirker's The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch and other such works about Walter Gropius or Ralph Adams Cram or John LaFarge for instance--all of these could under different rubrics be listed here. But by no means all (and in many cases not even most) of the work of such Boston architects of national importance is actually in Boston. And the books I do list all have the necessary bibliographical signposts for such of their buildings as are here. I might add that books only about one building, the guidebooks to Trinity Church or to the State House, for example, are also omitted here: nearly every important building has yielded a useful guide, and it would be very hard to know where to draw the line.

Finally, the reader should remember that several excellent books on Boston Architecture--Arthur Kilham's Boston After Bulfinch or Education, Bricks and Mortar: Harvard Buildings and Their Contribution to the Advancement of Learning, to cite only two--are no longer in print. Many of these will be found in the bibliographies of the works listed here, and the serious student will not ignore them. Nor should the student neglect the enormous literature on Boston architecture that has appeared in the architectural and craft journals (as well as in the journals of art history and local history) in the course of the last seventy-five or more years. These articles are easily located in the Fine Arts Department of the Boston Public Library, where an enthusiastic staff hardly ever fails to turn up what is wanted promptly and cheerfully.

This reading list was prepared for "Boston Architecture: From the First Townhouse to the New City Hall," a sequence offered in the Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Gerald A. Bernstein, Professor of Fine Arts at Brandeis University, taught the sequence during February and March 1975.

D.S.T.

Boston,
1 September 1975

Walter Muir Whitehill. Boston: A Topographical History. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968.

This is the one indispensible book for the study of Boston, the development of which Mr. Whitehill traces from its first settlement to the present day. Beautifully organized, and as beautifully written, the tale unfolds with the ease and clarity one would expect from this distinguished historian and careful stylist. Though not in the strict sense an architectural book, there is naturally almost as much architecture as topography here, and most of the major landmarks of the city are dealt with. More importantly, however, this book describes the topographical context in which these buildings arose and (alas) so often were destroyed.

David McCord. About Boston: Sight, Sound, Flavor, and Inflection. Boston, Little, Brown, 1948.

The happy issue of a series of mid-forties radio shows on Boston, this book has understandably come to be regarded as something of a classic, and it follows Whitehill's Topographical History here for good reason: Mr. Whitehill having assembled the skeleton, as it were, Mr. McCord's graceful sampling of the city's flavor is perhaps the perfect companion. Though there is much of Boston's architecture here, Mr. McCord ranges from "the fractionation of blood" to the "Dorchester Giant" and does not overlook either cod or "hasty pudding" while musing in many an odd corner of the old city that might otherwise have gone unnoticed. It is, to be sure, rather at random. But McCord is pre-eminently a poet, never more so than when he writes prose, and no one in this generation has written better about Boston.

George F. Weston, Jr. Boston Ways: High, By and Folk. (Revised ed.) Boston, 1967.

This, too, is a sort of ramble about Boston, which in this case focuses on the city's streets, but it also turns many a forgotten corner. Because as many odd and unknown as famous buildings are noticed, it is a beguiling ramble which students of Boston architecture will profit from reading.

Marjorie Drake Ross. Colonial Boston; Federal Boston; Victorian Boston. New York, 1960, 1961, 1964.

Marjorie Drake Ross' three-volume series on Boston, an outgrowth of the Museum of Fine Arts "Know Your Boston" tours, remains perhaps the best general introduction to a city old enough to be rather complicated. Beginners, particularly, will gain a sense of the overall cultural and economic growth of Boston through three and more centuries, from which they can the better subsequently develop their more particular interests. Architecture figures importantly in these three highly visual books, which deal successively with Colonial, Federal, and Victorian Boston, and the texts are uniformly simple and readable.

Boston Society of Architects. Boston Architecture. Cambridge, Mass., 1970.
Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr. A Guide to Boston Architecture, 1637-1954. New York, 1954.

These two books are the only extant attempts to survey the whole range of Boston architecture from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Neither is very satisfactory, however. The newer work, published by the Bos-

ton Society of Architects, has an introduction by John Coolidge that is naturally as excellent as his wide knowledge of the city's architecture would lead one to expect, but the rest of the book is disappointing. The sections of the city treated, and the buildings noticed, are rather arbitrary, and the 1880-1940 period is hardly dealt with at all--this despite much "atmospherics" (creative photography of tenement trash dumps, for instance) that might have given flavor to a better book, but are in this case small compensation for what is left out. Hitchcock's work provides a far better grounding in architecture hereabouts, though occasionally unreliable in fact, but much of the best recent architecture in and around Boston (the new City Hall, for instance) was not here in 1954, and the book is accordingly now rather dated. One does need one of these books, however, for each has the parade of dates one cannot as conveniently find elsewhere.

Marvin E. Goody and Robert P. Walsh, eds. Boston Society of Architects. The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967. Boston, 1967.

Joseph Hudnut, Walter Muir Whitehill, Kenneth Conant, José Luis Sert and others have combined here to write a significant history of the Boston Society of Architects. Particularly interesting are the brief profiles of distinguished local architects of national reputation--Charles Donagh Maginnis and R. Clipston Sturgis, for instance--whose work is not widely known but has of late become more interesting to scholars. The photographic archive of the buildings that have earned the J. Harleston Parker Award is also of great interest, while the dozens of articles about such relatively unknown but important groups as the Master Builders Association are invaluable.

Cambridge Historical Commission. A Survey of Architectural History in Cambridge. (4 volumes) Cambridge, 1965, 1967, 1971, 1973.

Vol. 1 East Cambridge, 1965.
Vol. 2 Antoinette F. Downing, Elizabeth MacDougall, Eleanor Pearson. Mid Cambridge, 1967.
Vol. 3 Cambridgeport, 1971.
Vol. 4 Bainbridge Bunting and Robert H. Nylander. Old Cambridge, 1973.

This extraordinary four-volume series is a thorough, well-written and lavishly illustrated survey of everything in Cambridge, and is therefore useful in a number of ways. All the famous and distinguished buildings are here, but so are the "three deckers" and the factories, the Queen Anne extravaganzas and the workers cottages. And while each volume is written for the general reader, with clear and well-organized introductions to each section, the discussions of each building-type and of representative examples are unfailingly sophisticated. The student drawn towards architectural history will find these books very exciting, particularly the first volume.

Bainbridge Bunting. Houses of Boston's Back Bay. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967.

Houses of Boston's Back Bay is the sort of book one judges other books by and very few compare favorably. Grounded in a massive scholarship, this quite large book nonetheless reads easily--largely because it is so clearly organized. Everyone will miss a house or two--some of my favorites are missing, too--but I doubt anyone has ever resented such omissions: there is so much in this book, after all, where previously there was nothing. Pertinently illustrated,

with helpful graphs, the interior views are particularly welcome for most of the Back Bay lurks still behind closed doors, and what does not, mostly now institutional, is often not used very sensitively. The checklist of houses at the end is, of its type, unique hereabouts--and it is a more than helpful reference to still obscure architects. The text is full of the sort of data about Victorian houses that are not generally available, and is therefore of wider use than the title would suggest, while Bunting's discussion of the development of the Back Bay itself, and of the morphology of late nineteenth-century American architecture, is invaluable. This is a book worthy of its subject, which is, after all, perhaps the largest and most distinguished concentration of urban Victorian domestic architecture in America.

Back Bay Boston: The City as a Work of Art. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1969.

A beautiful companion to Bunting's book, this sumptuously printed work, with stunning color and black and white photography, includes important essays by Lewis Mumford and Walter Muir Whitehill and a series of useful profiles of distinguished residents of the Back Bay. Their houses are identified, as well as some of their more notable gifts to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which published this distinguished catalogue for a show of the same name. Although the book is poorly documented, it yields the flavor of the nineteenth-century city superbly.

Sam Bass Warner, Jr. Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1962.

Douglass Shand Tucci. The Second Settlement, 1875-1925. Boston, Charlescraft Press, 1974.

Cynthia Zaitzevsky. William Ralph Emerson, 1833-1917. Cambridge, 1969.

Publishers often claim for a new book that it is a seminal work, that it uncovers so much that it is bound to be the foundation for a whole new line of inquiry. Often, this is at best enthusiasm, but in the base of Streetcar Suburbs, the contention that it is a vital building block is almost unarguable. Almost nobody knew anything of Victorian Dorchester, Roxbury, and Jamaica Plain before this book, or of how in the 1875-1925 period a whole new residential city was developed there by refugees from Boston determined to be able to breathe again, much less how this was all accomplished. But since Warner's book, which is well organized and well written, and amply illustrated and fully documented as well, scholars have found this vast and overlooked area increasingly interesting. Indeed, this new interest has yielded a case study in Dorchester's growth, The Second Settlement, 1875-1925. Focusing on the area's architectural development, the author asserts that Dorchester's dense streetscapes were an attempt to revive in an expanding city the early nineteenth-century detached townhouse concept that had been abandoned on Beacon Hill a century earlier for the connected variant in a contracting city. Another work of scarcely less interest in this field, though it deals more with the outer rather than the inner suburbs of the time, is Cynthia Zaitzevsky's William Ralph Emerson, 1833-1917, a pioneering excursion into

the adventuresome work of a long overlooked Boston architect whose suburban estate houses continue to fascinate. All these books, of course, owe a great deal to Vincent Scully's The Shingle Style which, though it only very briefly deals with Boston, is invaluable background. Though the context is larger, Rettig's Cambridge Walking Tours (see below) includes much streetcar suburbs architecture, which he treats with ease and seriousness.

Robert Bell Rettig. A Guide to Cambridge Architecture: Ten Walking Tours. Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1969.

These ten walking tours are probably the best the layman could take in or around Boston. For the author manages to deal fairly and on its own terms with virtually the whole (in a representative way) of Cambridge architecture, which the Cambridge Historical Commission (whose research this book is based upon) early concluded is not limited to eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Harvard Yard and Brattle Street. Vernacular design, for example, even in the 1930's, is fully dealt with, and as these images of Cambridge's architectural diversity through two and more centuries are fairly representative of what went on throughout the Greater Boston area, this book remains a gold mine for student and layman alike.

Margaret Smith and Pauline Chase Howell, eds. Victorian Boston Today: Ten Walking Tours. Boston, The Victorian Society in America, New England Chapter, 1975.

This book makes a good beginning at what must be a principal preoccupation of architectural historians hereabouts for many years to come--the

documentation of what little remains to us of Victorian architecture in Boston. Though large and important sections of the city are not touched upon (Hyde Park, Brighton, West Roxbury, and--the largest of all--Dorchester) surely subsequent volumes will answer this need. For even the predictable tours included--this is particularly true of the Back Bay tour--are adventuresome, and several do break out of the conventional boundaries to explore such relatively overlooked parts of the city as Jamaica Plain and South Boston. One tour ventures even so far as to Brookline. Several tours--notably those on Boston women in the Victorian age and on the stations of the Boston Elevated--also give variety and interest to the collection, in that they are more topical than geographical. Naturally, the work of the ten authors is uneven in quality, but the overall quality is quite fine indeed, and one cannot help hoping for a whole shelf of such volumes in years to come. Certainly students of the period will be very grateful for the first.

Douglass Shand Tucci. Church Building in Boston, 1720-1970. Concord, N.H., Rumford Press, 1974.

It used to be said that scholars wrote one book in the text and another in the footnotes. Today, increasingly, one writes still another in the captions--architectural historians particularly having naturally discovered that a significant sequence of photographs has enormous value. Accordingly, this survey of Boston church architecture is in two parts and the first is a photographic archive with extensive captions that trace the stylistic development of church design hereabouts from 1720 to 1970, and is perhaps most interesting for its radical geographical and de-

nominational diversity. For the churches illustrated are drawn from the Catholic as well as from the Protestant traditions, and not only from the North End-Beacon Hill-Back Bay-Cambridge axis, but from throughout the city and its suburbs, neither of which have been traditional in surveys of Boston architecture. Moreover, the early and mid-twentieth-century work that has been usually ignored is emphasized in the photographic archive, and is in fact the primary concern in part two, where the author undertakes the first serious discussion of the work of the distinguished Boston architect, Ralph Adams Cram, who revolutionized the visual image of American Christianity in the early twentieth century, and of the "Boston Gothicists," a group of Boston architects and artist-collaborators who exercised in Cram's wake a decisive leadership in American church design during this period. Actually, "Church Design in Boston" might have been a better title for this book, the concept of which was to discuss churches actually in Boston in Part One, and churches throughout the country designed by the Boston Gothicists in Part Two.

Joan E. Goody. New Architecture in Boston. Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1965.
Eva Jacob. New Architecture in New England. Lincoln, DeCordova Museum, 1974.

Happily, the only works of their kind, which these are, are also both very good. Mostly photographs, and exceptionally good ones, with accompanying notes, Goody's is a small, square

and rather chic book that deals with the whole of the Greater Boston area. Though it naturally includes many of the area's distinguished university buildings, commercial structures and even suburban houses are not overlooked. Jacob's book, of course, spreads a wider net, and scarcely less stylishly, but there is a great deal on Boston's new buildings, and a superb introduction to modern design (generally, as well as in New England) that is brief and very readable.

Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, May, 1973. Vol. XXXII, no. 2.

This "Boston issue," an outgrowth of an S.A.H. Annual Tour in the Boston area on the work of Richardson's contemporaries, is for the relatively advanced student who is curious as to the latest and most significant scholarship in Boston architectural history. There are six articles: Margaret Henderson Floyd's on John Sturgis' old Copley Square Museum; James O'Gorman's on O.W. Norcross, Richardson's builder; Wheaton Holden's on the work of Peabody and Stearns; Susan Moycock Vogel's introduction to the work of Hartwell and Richardson; Walter Knight Sturges' discussion of Arthur Little and the Colonia Revival, and Cynthia Zaitzevsky's on the structures of Frederick Law Olmsted's park system and on the newly uncovered Hayden Building by H.H. Richardson in Boston.

Raymond W. Stanley, ed. Mr. Bulfinch's Boston. Boston, Old Colony Trust Company, 1963.

This delightful slim volume published in 1963 commemorating the 200th anniversary of Charles Bulfinch's birth offers a concise survey of the architect's major Boston buildings. After a brief discussion of Bulfinch's early life, travels, and training, his various Boston projects are treated in chronological order. The more than twenty illustrations are sensitively drawn by Jack Frost and capture the romantic mood of Bulfinch's Federalist style. A list of the architect's extant buildings is very helpful and is accompanied by a map indicating their location.

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From the Psalm Book to the Symphony: Music in the Culture of Boston

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
John Swan
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

Boston Public Library, 1977

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"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 -March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

"Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

"Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University. September 14 - November 2, 1976.

"After Strange Fruit: Changing Literary Taste in Post-World-War-II Boston" with P. Albert Duhamel, Professor of English, Boston College. September 16 - November 4, 1976.

"Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City" with Robert Hollister, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning, M.I.T., September 18 - November 6, 1976.

"Growth and Development in the Boston Metropolis: The Union of Government and Economics--A Marriage of Convenience" with Donald Levitan, Professor of Public Administration, Suffolk University. November 16, 1976 - January 18, 1977.

"From the Psalm Book to the Symphony: Music in the Culture of Boston" with John Swan, Lecturer in English, Tufts University. November 18, 1976 - January 27, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

The books and recordings described in the following pages were central to the Boston Public Library course, "From the Psalmbook to the Symphony: Music in the Culture of Boston." They deal with the first three centuries of Boston's musical history, although there is particular emphasis upon the nineteenth century. For the most part the books are chosen for their specifically Bostonian orientation, and general works have been omitted. Of course, there is much about Boston in every general study of American music. Two early surveys are especially useful: Louis C. Elson's History of Music in America (1904) and F.L. Ritter's Music in America (1890). The two best-known modern works which examine the whole of American music both have extensive and well-organized bibliographies. They are Gilbert Chase's America's Music, Revised second edition, and John Tasker Howard's Our American Music.

One very important Boston history has been omitted because it is not in itself an independent book: John Sullivan Dwight's "Music in Boston" is in Volume IV of the Memorial History of Boston (ed. Justin Winsor) which was published for the 250th anniversary of the founding of the City of Boston. This article is an excellent survey of Boston musical activities in the nineteenth century up to 1880, written by one of the chief makers of the history which he chronicles.

A very recent short work which is in part a survey of the places in which Boston musical history was made is The Boston Rialto: Playhouses, Concert Halls and Movie Palaces, by Douglass Shand Tucci. It is an excellent source for both specific information and a general sense of cultural environment, and it is published in part for the benefit of the City Conservation League, from which it can be ordered (Old West Church, 131 Cambridge Street, Boston).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apthorp, William Foster. By the Way, Vols. I (About Music) and II (About Musicians). Boston: Copeland and Day, 1898.

_____. Musicians and Music-Lovers. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894.

These are collections made from Boston Symphony program notes (By the Way) and from newspaper and magazine pieces (Musicians and Music-Lovers) written by the most acute observer of the American musical scene around the turn of the century (see the Mussulman listing). Here is the personal, discursive musical essay at its best, with superb analytical insight strengthened by a firm grasp of broad cultural movements. Apthorp was a highly trained musician (a student of Paine at Harvard), and his subjective approach in no way conceals a lack of hard knowledge: "The critic's first aim should be to show the thing as he sees it... If he sees no farther than his readers do, he will be read only as long as they agree with him; but, if he does see farther, and makes it plain that he does, he will be read at any rate."

His appreciations of Bach and Handel and J.S. Dwight are valid and enlightening (Musicians and Music-Lovers); his personal reminiscences of mid-nineteenth century Boston (By the Way II) are thoroughly informative and amusing into the bargain; and at the end of By the Way I he makes a prediction about the future of music, based upon an analysis of contemporary (mid-80's) tonality, which demonstrates his ability to see far: "From continually shifting key, music may get to such a persistently enharmonic condition as to be never at any moment in less than two keys at once, and hence IN NO KEY AT ALL! What next?

Why, this next!" There is no one in nineteenth-century American musical letters who makes more rewarding reading than William Foster Apthorp.

Ayars, Christine Merrick. Contributions to the Art of Music in America by the Music Industries of Boston, 1640 to 1936. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1937.

Although this book is understandably dated in some aspects of research, it is still a very useful three-century compendium of music businesses and crafts located in the Boston area. It is essentially a list of concise descriptions, ordered chronologically by type, of music publishers, editors, engravers and printers, journals, stores, piano makers and dealers and tuners, organ builders, and all of the other professional providers of the material wherewithall for musical performance and appreciation. From the beginning (the 1640 Bay Psalm Book, the first book-length publication in English America), the men of music important in Boston have been important to the country as a whole: Graupner and Ditson, publishers; Parker and Dwight, editors; Paul Revere, music engraver and bell caster; Haynes, the master flute-maker; Chickering, Mason and Hamlin, piano-builders; and a great line of organ builders from the firm of Goodrich to that of Aeolian-Skinner.

The book, then, is of more than local interest. Despite the enforced superficiality of its long lists and short descriptions, it provides a valuable summary of the practical underpinnings of our musical culture.

Brink, Carol. Harps in the Wind. New York: Macmillan, 1947.

Beginning in the 1840's and continuing through the stormy middle decades of the century, one of the most popular forms of entertainment in Boston and throughout the United States was that provided by the "singing families," numerous small vocal ensembles who regaled their audiences with sentimental ballads, folk songs, and hymns, sometimes interspersed with bits of stage business. Often they were "families" only by virtue of a press agent's invention, but the most famous of them all was a family indeed, the thirteen surviving children of a talented but sternly practical farmer, Jesse Hutchinson, and his beloved wife Polly, all raised on the family farm in Milford, New Hampshire. All were musically gifted, but it was the four youngest, Judson, John, Asa, and their little sister Abby, who first turned from the farmer's life to exhibit their talents on the road. By this time (1842) another brother, Jesse, had also left to open a hardware store in Lynn, Mass., and High Rock, Lynn, soon became the Boston-area headquarters for the numerous Hutchinson family activities. Those activities included singing long and hard for Abolition as well as for fame and money. The family was much influenced by a friend and near Lynn neighbor, Frederick Douglass, and they earned the praise and friendship of such men as William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips--as well as a good deal of bitter opposition from other kinds of people.

All the Singing Hutchinsons, parents, children and children of children come together in this volume to make a fascinating story--or many stories, of the farm, the theater, the Civil War, the settling of the West (Asa and his fam-

ily founded Hutchinson, Minnesota), and of many a colorful, sometimes tragic personal life. Boston figures importantly in their lives, from the time the young hopefuls were snubbed by Lowell Mason (he told them to buy his book and learn how to sing), through their many successes at the Melodeon, to the sad, somewhat neglected old age of John, "the Bard of Lynn." This is an attractive history, made more so by a wonderful collection of old photographs.

Cooke, George Willis. John Sullivan Dwight: Brook-Farmer, Editor, and Critic of Music. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1898.

He was a failed Unitarian minister; he was an amateur with very little skill in music; until he was forty he had no definite calling, and he never succeeded in making a decent living in the profession that he finally did adopt. Yet for four decades or so, John Sullivan Dwight was the most important and influential figure in the development of a classical music culture in nineteenth-century Boston. This is the only published biography of Dwight and is itself as much a cultural artifact as a biographical source, but its author's intimacy with his subject and with the social milieu of Dwight's Boston shines through the datedness of the book.

During Dwight's short career as a minister, his friend Theodore Parker once chided him for "mistaking the indefinite for the Infinite," and throughout his life he encountered resistance for his subjective and philosophical approach to music, his devotion to the cultural heritage of Germany, and his determination upon high seriousness. However, his achievements were often very practical: he was the founding and guiding spirit of the Harvard

Musical Association, the concerts and cultural campaigns of which laid the groundwork for the Boston Symphony Orchestra and brought about the establishment of this country's first professorship in music; during the thirty years of Dwight's Journal of Music he was more than any other responsible for the development of serious musical criticism and appreciation in this country; and through his Brook-Farm-fostered social ideals he kept before his public the idea that music was the means to something far greater than personal aesthetic pleasure. He had serious limitations which are inadequately explored in this book, but it remains an indispensable guide to Dwight's achievements and personality.

Eaton, Quaintance. The Boston Opera Company. New York: Appleton-Century, 1965.

One day in 1907 opera impresario Henry Russell, in desperate need of funds, paid a visit to Eben Jordan. Within half an hour he had been given twenty thousand dollars. Not only had his San Carlo Opera Company been saved, but the seeds had been sown for Boston's Gilded Age fling at grand opera. Eben Jordan, son of the founder of Jordan Marsh (and himself provider of founding money for the New England Conservatory of Music), followed his father's generous ways: He built an opera house for Boston. For a few years, 1909-1915, the Boston Opera Company under Henry Russell reigned as the equal of the Met and the other great companies of the golden age of opera. It was a glittering assemblage--with a glittering audience: the likes of Mrs. Jack Gardner came to hear the likes of Mary Garden, Olive Fremstad, Leo Slezak, and Lily Norton, a Maine girl (and New England Conservatory product) who made good with the more operatic name of Lillian Nordica.

The good times were soon over, and the great opera house itself yielded to the steel ball and Northeastern University's expansion in 1958, but that brief time remains a fascinating chapter in Boston history. Quaintance Eaton is one of America's best opera historians, and she tells this story with grace, wit, and scholarly thoroughness. Included are photographs and complete cast and repertoire lists.

Fisher, William Arms. Notes on Music in Old Boston. Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1918.

The Ditson Company commissioned this small book, and it is most informative--and complimentary--on the subject of Oliver Ditson (1811-88) and the great music publishing firm which he founded and which was in its heyday in 1918, presiding over downtown Boston at the corner of Tremont and Boylston Streets. Otherwise the book is not entirely reliable by today's scholarly standards, but it is a useful and attractively written account of musical persons and events in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Boston. For much of his best material Fisher is indebted to the great pioneering scholar, Oscar Sonneck (Early Concert Life in America), and he pursues nothing very deeply himself, but he does often succeed in conveying a palpable sense of the times. He skillfully relates things musical to the culture as a whole, and he achieves his most vivid results with extensive use of old newspaper notices and pictures.

Gilmore, Patrick Scarsfield. History of the National Peace Jubilee and Great Musical Festival. Boston: For the author, 1871.

One day in 1867, P.S. Gilmore, bandmaster and

entrepreneur extraordinary, had a vision: he saw before him a throng of ten thousand singers, accompanied by an orchestra of a thousand, and hearkened unto by a vast audience, all gathered to celebrate "the restoration of peace throughout the land." This fascinating book is Gilmore's personal story of the realization of that dream, from his first efforts to induce New York, then Washington, to embrace his plan, through his long struggle to win the acceptance of the cultural and financial powers of Boston, through the long months of preparation, to the Great National Peace Jubilee itself. It was billed as "the Grandest Musical Festival Ever Known in the History of the World," and if that was an exaggeration, it was a pardonable boast. The eleven thousand musicians, world-famous soloists, one hundred firemen beating one hundred anvils (for the Anvil Chorus, naturally), the immense Coliseum itself (five hundred feet by three hundred, holding fifty thousand people): it seems impossible today that Copley Square ever beheld such a spectacle--let alone the Festival of 1872, in which Gilmore doubled the size of everything.

This book brings it all back to reality, because Gilmore was a very hard-working, practical dreamer, and here he reveals (from a very self-satisfied point of view, to be sure), the nuts and bolts of his great campaign, his approaches to the politicians, the musicians (including the inevitable confrontation with Dwight), and the merchants (Eben Jordan became his principal guarantor). This amazing volume contains not only Gilmore's detailed account, but also large numbers of (glowing) newspaper reviews and other documents, a complete list of guests (President Grant was among them), and the names of every one of "the

immortal ten thousand" of the chorus. Gilmore has granted us a richly detailed exposition of musical consciousness of this city--from a unique point of view.

Howe, M.A. DeWolfe. The Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1881-1931. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931.

This work first made its appearance in 1914, then was updated for the fiftieth-anniversary season (early in the reign of Koussevitsky) and given extensive appendices listing repertoire, soloists, and personnel. It also includes an excellent speech by Bliss Perry in honor of the life and achievements of Henry Lee Higginson. Higginson is very properly the hero of this book; it is most valuable in recounting the development of young Henry's devotion to music, his musical studies in Vienna, his profound disappointment at his physical inability to pursue music as a profession, and his ultimate triumph in transmuting that disappointment into an unexampled achievement: the creation, out of personal initiative, personal resources, and self-sacrifice, of a great and permanent symphony orchestra. Howe's relentlessly celebratory approach sometimes leads to the neglect or superficial treatment of knotty personalities and controversial moments; however, he presents a clear and very interesting history, and he makes skillful use of personal letters, contemporary criticism and other documents. There are many anecdotes reflecting the courage and dedication required and given to the cause of the BSO. There are amusing stories--and some very sad stories, such as the Muck affair, which so burdened the last years of Higginson's life (the

great conductor was imprisoned as an enemy alien in 1918, essentially for the crime of being a German). This is a history, not only of an orchestra, but of the relationship between society and a great cultural institution.

Johnson, H. Earle. Musical Interludes in Boston, 1795-1830. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

_____. Hallelujah, Amen! The Story of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Boston: Bruce Humphreys, 1965.

_____. Symphony Hall, Boston. Boston: Little, Brown, 1950.

More than anyone else, Johnson devoted himself to recording specifically Bostonian musical history. These three volumes are invaluable studies of three aspects of that history. The most useful and interesting of them is the first work, which is one of the pioneering Columbia University Studies in Musicology. It is a survey of the concert life and times of post-Revolutionary Boston in the process of turning itself into a sophisticated center of art and commerce. The author begins with an extensive scene-setting description of the "polite arts" in general, then proceeds to an account of the hesitant but inevitable acceptance by Boston of the theater and secular music through the efforts of a number of enterprising immigrant musicians. These men and women found here a considerable band of liberal and appreciative natives--Charles Bulfinch among them--who joined them with their own devotion to the cause of a growing musical culture. Johnson bolsters his narrative with many concert listings and passages from criticism. The book is good for its general account, but it is even better for the extended descrip-

tions of particular figures and their accomplishments in Boston. The colorful career of the Falstaffian Englishman, George K. Jackson, is here recounted, and most valuable, the long Boston association of Gottlieb and Catherine Graupner is for once given something like adequate coverage. Gottlieb Graupner, oboist in Haydn's London orchestra, founder of the Philharmonic Society in Boston, and co-founder of the Handel and Haydn Society, was certainly the city's most indispensable musician for over a generation, and his wife was similarly necessary in her singing and acting roles. Adding to the value of this book are appendices full of data on contemporary publishers, publications, teachers, and music dealers and manufacturers.

The most important musical organization founded in the period covered by Musical Interludes is the Handel and Haydn Society, which is more fully treated in Hallelujah, Amen! the official modern history of "America's oldest oratorio society," superseding the old season-by-season record by Perkins and Dwight which was the authorized history before the turn of the century (and which is a fascinating document in itself). Johnson's work devoted to the Handel and Haydn Society is not as incisive a piece of scholarship as the Musical Interludes, but it is an entertaining and faithful chronicle of what was probably the most culturally significant musical organization in America for much of the early nineteenth century. From the beginning, with the gathering in February of 1816 of a group of men who had been inspired by a particularly glorious Christmas choral concert in Stone Chapel (the war-time name for King's), the society was the work of the city's music-loving tradesmen in cooperation with such musicians as Graupner and Jackson. This fruitful union was charac-

teristic of Boston's early cultural life, an organization founded upon active community participation. There is many a fascinating story in this book about citizens as music-makers as well as consumers (such as that about the commissioning of a work from Beethoven--unfortunately never carried out), and the author repeatedly demonstrates his ability to create a living sense of cultural history.

This is also true of Johnson's Symphony Hall, Boston, a colorful narrative of the first fifty years of one of the world's greatest concert halls. The book is, in fact, more valuable for its anecdotes of events scattered over those fifty years than for its broader account of hall and orchestra. It rather neglects the story of the actual building of the hall.

Lowens, Irving. Music and Musicians in Early America. New York: W. W. Norton, 1964.

This is a collection of articles on various people, publications, and movements in American music from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. The author is one of the very best scholars in the field of American music, with countless valuable contributions to our musical self-understanding to his credit. A number of them which pertain specifically to Boston are contained in this volume. For instance, Lowens discusses the early publishing history of the Bay Psalm Book in such a way as to make the facts not only clear but meaningful as reflections of our early musical development--in this case the successive editions reveal a decline in musical literacy after the first generation of Puritans. The author then turns to the instruction book written by the Newbury pastor John Tufts, "the first American music textbook." As is often the case with Lowens, he not

only breaks new ground in this paper, but he also applies the research to a larger sense of American creative development. Other subjects with local significance include the personal letters of the great Connecticut hymnodist Daniel Read, the immigrant composer and performer James Hewitt, the wonderful musical eccentric Anthony Philip Heinrich, shape-note tune books, and music among the Transcendentalists, including an illuminating discussion of Dwight's musical philosophy.

Mason, William. Memories of a Musical Life. New York, Century, 1902.

The third son of Lowell (see the Rich listing) and himself a distinguished composer, teacher and piano virtuoso, William Mason reveals a commanding grasp of the music of his time in this graceful biography. In the chapters devoted to his early upbringing and to his American concert activities, the author includes much that is illuminating about the Boston musical environment (there is also an appendix devoted to the early life of Lowell Mason); however, the best part of the book is his extensive treatment of his studies in Europe and his friendship with the great musicians of the day. Among his teachers were Moscheles, Dreyschock, and Liszt, and he has much to say about them that is perceptive and interesting. Liszt's personality and pedagogy are especially fascinating. Mason met Wagner before that man conquered Europe, and his gift for close observation yields interesting details of Wagner's appearance and personality. Mason was a close associate of the greatest pioneer in the development of the American symphony orchestra, Theodore Thomas, and he was also a friend of the brilliant pianist and composer, Louis Moreau

Gottschalk. Both men, and many others, are vividly drawn here. Included in the book are many musical autographs by the great men of whom Mason was a worthy colleague and friend.

McCusker, Honor Cecilia. Fifty Years of Music in Boston. Boston: Boston Public Library, 1938.

This little book, based in part upon otherwise unpublished letters to and from John Sullivan Dwight (see the Cooke listing), provides a concise and extremely informative overview of the crusade for classical music in nineteenth-century America. Boston, and particularly Dwight himself, was the principal center for this high-culture movement, and the pages of Dwight's Journal, as well as the editor's private correspondence, reveal the aspirations and activities of most of the important pioneers on this musical frontier. The author arranged her material in such a way that major themes as well as persons stand out vividly. For instance, American music students in Germany are seen in the context of German musical dominance during this period, and we get a moving glimpse of one such emigrant Bostonian, Alexander Wheelock Thayer, describing himself as "poor as Job's turkey," with hardly enough money for clothes, yet laboring hard at his musical research--research which was to result in the first great, truly modern biography, Thayer's Life of Beethoven. The Harvard Musical Association is described here in terms of the work of its dedicated leaders, among them Dwight and Otto Dresel, noted pianist, conductor, teacher and composer. John Knowles Paine, organist, composer, and Harvard and America's first professor of music, is also given interesting treatment, as are P.S. Gilmore's Jubilees (see the Gilmore listing) and Dwight's complex reaction to them.

This book is, for all its modest format, a prime source of information about one of Boston's richest musical half centuries, the second half of the last century.

McKay, David P. and Richard Crawford. William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-Century Composer. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

In his scramble to earn a living, William Billings worked as a tanner, as Boston's official leather inspector, as a "scavenger" (street-cleaner), as a "hogreeve" (roughly, the enforcer of local stray-swine laws), as well as editor, writer, and music teacher. Through it all, however, he labored at his deepest love, the creation of music, particularly "Anthems, Fugues and Chorus's." When, in 1770, the 23-year old Billings published his New England Psalm-Singer, he accomplished something of immense cultural importance: This was the first publication ever devoted entirely to an American composer, and its contents of 126 works alone increased the quantity of published American music tenfold. The young composer signed himself "William Billings, a native of Boston, in New England," and the names of the psalm- and hymn-tunes are often expressive of this pride of citizenship: "Hampshire," "Middlesex," "Suffolk," "Roxbury," "Brattle Street." But there is more than local pride and history going for Billings: He was also a musical genius who turned out a wealth of beautiful and often profound music which became the backbone of American psalmody and which only in recent years has begun to be rediscovered as our first great home-grown music.

This book is the first thorough, extended study of Billings, his life, works, and musical times. It provides a detailed and very accurate and il-

luminating account of the course of sacred music in New England and of the relationship between that music and the rural hymnody of England; it contains a great many newly unearthed details about the often obscure personal life of Billings; it describes the course of the composer's reputation and analyzes the forces that militated against it (Lowell Mason among them); and it contains an excellent guide to the performance of Billings' work. The life of this gimpy, one-eyed, humorous eccentric, friend of Sam Adams and Paul Revere, singer of the Revolution, is utterly fascinating, and Messrs. McKay and Crawford have more than done it justice: They have in the process written one of the very finest books about American music ever published.

Mussulman, Joseph A. Music in the Cultured Generation: A Social History of Music in America, 1870-1900. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971.

The study of musical culture in its broader social context is badly neglected in general; this work offers an excellent start at correcting the situation in a particular area. The author chooses as his focal point the music essays and criticism which appeared in the great American literary monthlies which best articulated the philosophical, moral, and aesthetic convictions of the highly literate, "cultured" stratum of late nineteenth-century American society, the people of the "genteel tradition." The columns of the principal writers on things musical for the Atlantic Monthly, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, and Scribner's Magazine are examined both for qualities of personal perception and

for the expression of general cultural assumptions. Such issues as morality in music, musical education, musical Darwinism and the progress of taste are surveyed by way of quotations and synopses, and a great deal of important and long-buried material is thereby made available. Some of the opinions thus revealed seem only quaint (such as Boston composer Eugene Thayer's musical analysis of Niagara Falls, in which he describes the "tone" of the Falls as a G-major seventh chord), some are all too revealing of class limitations (the disquisitions on morality and taste); but the writings of several highly perceptive men, Apthorp and Dwight the best of them, are given sensitive treatment in light of their cultural surroundings. The book is more a survey than a serious cultural analysis, but it is extremely valuable as a ground-breaking study of an important area.

Rich, Arthur Lowndes. Lowell Mason. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946.

"The Father of Singing Among the Children" is given a straightforward, positive treatment in this useful study. Although Mason's entire life is covered, the emphasis is upon his pioneering work in music education and the theories behind his innovations. Mason was extraordinarily accomplished in many activities that enhanced his role as educator. He distinguished himself as a performer, choirmaster, composer (of "Nearer My God to Thee" among countless other readily digestible hymns), writer, editor, publisher and businessman (his great personal success, as well as the financial security of the Handel and Hayden Society, was assured when Mason, then a young bank teller, collaborated with the society to publish the enormously popular and influen-

tial Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music). It was in music education that Mason made his most lasting mark, and Rich goes into much detail about the years of patient dedication that preceded the success of Mason's mission to convince the Boston Public Schools to take the radical and unprecedented step of making an official program of music education available to all school children. Mason demonstrated that music could be a vital part of the emotional, physical and intellectual development of everyone. He was himself a brilliant teacher who put into musical practice the dynamic educational theories of Pestalozzi and other reformers. Rich's description of Mason's theoretical side is especially interesting. He neglects the large questions raised by Mason's achievements, in particular the charge of cultural homogenization that has been raised against him, but most of the Mason controversy dates from after the publication of this book, and it is in any case a good source of material about a major musical figure.

Ryan, Thomas. Recollections of an Old Musician. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1899.

"I never kept notes, and do not know a person who can set me right if I put anything on record awry. I am almost the last of the 'old guard.' I was for many years the youngest musician in Boston; now perhaps I am the oldest, and still in harness. I can make a fair record, in substance, of the rise and fall of the different societies, and that is about all the value which can be attached to it." Tom Ryan does indeed get a few things wrong, but he is entirely too modest about the value of his book. This is a vivid, arresting story of the development of

music in Boston (and elsewhere--as far as Tasmania!) written by a valuable participant in that development. Ryan arrived from Ireland in 1845 and promptly began his long career as clarinetist, violist, violinist and/or flautist in several Boston theaters (he was in the orchestra when Jenny Lind made her first appearances at the old Tremont Temple), in the Boston Academy of Music orchestra, and most importantly, in the Mendelssohn Quintette Club, a distinguished chamber ensemble which was the first such group to carry the gospel of classical music to the American West (and other hinterlands: that is how he got to Australia and environs). Ryan's style is very engaging, full of exuberance and wit; again and again he provides intimate, often humorous glances into the lives of the great musical and theatrical figures of his vast experience. Here the musical giants often appear in their shirtsleeves (literally so in the case of Anton Rubinstein sneaking out to enjoy a smoke with Ryan as a respite from the rigors of meeting Boston society), and legendary performers such as Ole Bull are seen here from the perspective of one who performed with them. Naturally, a host of resident Bostonians also appear in this entertaining and valuable memoir, which is also replete with marvelous old photographs.

Scholes, Percy A. The Puritans and Music in England and New England. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

Before the appearance of this book, and with a few honorable exceptions, music historians and people in general held but one image of the Puritan: he was an intense, dour type who regarded all secular music, particularly instrumental, as "the invention of the devil." He cherished an

"implacable hostility to amusement, music, and other arts in general," and he therefore confined himself to "the singing of five hymn tunes." These quotations are culled from Scholes' lengthy compilation of such views; he gives the reader a very clear picture of the enemy. He then, in a monumental work of scholarship, a landmark in its field, proceeds to destroy said enemy. As a polemic, in fact, the work succeeds too well; it goes too far (understandably so, given the entrenched position of the adversary). That the Puritans did actually have some profound uneasiness about music's appeal to the senses has been demonstrated by later scholars. However, the author's basic point is very valid, important, and soundly demonstrated: music, and not only hymnody but a wide range of secular music also, played an important part in Puritan life in both old England and New. Armed with a vast number of contemporary accounts, Scholes describes the flourishing of music composition, publication, and performance in England during the Commonwealth (Cromwell, Bunyan and Milton were all music lovers). He also chronicles the abundant musical activities of the American Puritans, and in the process examines closely the Puritan clash with the Merrymount colony (Morton's merry lot were excessive by anybody's standards); he demonstrates that sanctions against dancing were not nearly so stern or widespread as is commonly assumed; and in fact he has an answer for virtually every piece of evidence against the Puritans. He does indulge in overkill at times, but for the most part Scholes presents a view of Puritan musical culture that is still unmatched for its panoramic breadth and scholarly depth.

Spalding, Walter Raymond. Music at Harvard. New York: Coward-McCann, 1935.

The distinguished author was himself chairman of the Harvard Department of Music for decades, and although the tone of Harvardian self-satisfaction lies heavily on some of his lines, he knew very well whereof he spoke, and that intimate knowledge makes this an enlightening account. The extensive background material, though sometimes dated, is often useful, and Spalding's sense of the development of music as a part of Harvard's social and academic environment is very strong. Of much value is his description of the struggles of the Pierian Sodality, Harvard's music club, to win a respectable place for music. The society was founded in 1808, and for decades the little band constituted Harvard's only serious music effort--"serious" here means "determined," rather than "grave:" Much serenading of "pulcherrimarum puellarum," many elegant suppers, and some occasionally fatal neglect of studies are all recorded in the society minutes. The ultimate achievements of the group were, however, serious indeed, for out of it grew the Harvard Musical Association (Dwight, the leading figure in the HMA, had been a flautist in the Pierian Sodality) and the nation's first department of music (see Cooke and McCusker listings). Spalding's account of the efforts of John Knowles Paine, the first professor of music, to create and expand the music curriculum are detailed and useful to an understanding of the crusade for serious academic acceptance of music. The generations of excellent teachers, performers, and composers which followed Paine, as well as the growth of many of the school's other musical activities, are also described.

DISCOGRAPHY

The following is an informal discography of music important in Boston's history. The most complete and up-to-date source for record information is the monthly Schwann-1 catalogue for stereo records. The semi-annual Schwann-2 lists monaural and electronic stereo recordings, among which are many relevant performances of American music.

Two recent series of recordings are deserving of special mention. The Louisville Orchestra, via its own record company, Louisville (a label long devoted to contemporary and/or neglected works of merit, available by subscription and in larger record outlets), has embarked upon a Bicentennial series which includes the works of a number of composers with Boston connections, among them Arthur Foote and Dudley Buck.

The most ambitious and praiseworthy phonographic project to be inspired by the American Bicentennial was the Recorded Anthology of American Music, an extended series of records sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation and created through the collective effort of a good many of the most distinguished and talented figures in American music and record technology. Four of these records have particular usefulness to the study of Boston music:

NW 247 "When I Have Sung My Songs: The American Art Song, 1900-1940." The likes of Gadski, McCormack, Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson and Kirsten Flagstad singing the likes of Macdowell, Parker, Mrs. Beach, Cadman and Ives.
NW 257 "The Wind Demon and Other Mid-nineteenth-century Piano Music." Ivan Davis playing William Mason, Gottschalk, Bristow, Fry, Heinrich and others.
NW 276 "The Birth of Liberty: Music of the American Revolution." Seth McCoy, Sherrill Milnes and others performing Billings, Wood, and many traditional marches and songs from both sides of the conflict.

NW 280 "Fugues, Fantasia, and Variations: Nineteenth-century American Concert Organ Music." Richard Morris playing Buck, Thayer, Parker, Paine, and Whiting.

All of the series have lengthy annotations, including discographies of further recordings in each area. For the most part these jacket notes are superlative. The essay accompanying NW257, however, is written by a critic with an axe to grind, and to facilitate the grinding he introduces many errors and distortions of fact. This series is unfortunately not yet available to the general public, but it is widely available in libraries.

I. Colonial New England

"American Colonial Christmas Music," Berkeley Chamber Singers, director Alden Gilchrist... Musical Heritage Society MHS 1126

"An Anthology of American Organ Music," Vol. I, Janice Beck, organ Musical Heritage Society OR A-262

"Early American Vocal Music," Western Wind ensemble, Nonesuch 71276

"Organ in America," E. Power Biggs... Columbia MS6161

"Continental Harmony" (music of Billings), Gregg Smith Singers, Columbia MS7277

"Old Stoughton Musical Society--An Appeal to Heaven".. Old North Bridge records 1762

II. European Masters

Messiah by G. F. Handel, The Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, Thompson Stone, conductor... Unicorn UNS1. This recording is no longer available, but not uncommon around Boston. It reflects Boston performances of the past in its use of elements of the Mozart and Franz editions. There are several good modern recordings, among them Colin Davis's (Philips), Mackerras's (Angel), and Leppard's (MHS). A new Handel and Haydn Society recording is forthcoming.

Israel in Egypt, Handel, Abravanel (Westminster 8200); Mackerras (Deutsche Grammaphon Archive ARC 2708020); Waldman (Decca DXS 7178)
Judas Maccabaeus, Handel, Somary (Vanguard 71197/9); Scherman (Desto 6452/4)
Creation. F. J. Haydn, Waldman (MCA 2-MCA 2-10001)--the only recording in English; there are several good performances in the original German, among them those by Horenstein (Turnabout--old, but cheap and very fine in performance, if not sound), Münchinger (London), Karajan (DGG)
Seasons, Haydn, Davis (Philips 839719/21), the only one in English
St. Matthew Passion, J.S. Bach, Bernstein (Columbia M3S 692), the only one in English; a great recording in the stately, traditional manner is that of Klemperer (Angel); a performance even closer to the old Romantic ways is the controversial Palm Sunday, 1939 Mengelberg recording, reissued by Philips (import no.: H73 AX 310), my personal choice as the greatest single recording of anything
Christ on the Mount of Olives, Beethoven, no recordings in its nineteenth-century Old-Testament-ized version, Engedi; several good modern versions, among them Scherchen's (Westminster 8206) and Wangenheim's (Angel S36696)
Elijah, Mendelssohn, Sargent (Columbia sl-155, a transfer from 78's, long out of print, but the greatest, most earnestly committed to nineteenth-century oratorio practices); a good modern recording is that of Frühbeck de Burgos (Angel S3738); a good record of selections is Angel S 36288.
Song of Praise (Symphony No. II, "Lobgesang"), Mendelssohn, Sawallisch (Phillips 802856/7), no recordings in English

The above are, of course, all choral works, all very important in oratorio-oriented nineteenth-century Boston. The chamber and symphonic repertoire

was also very important, increasingly so after the mid-century mark. Most relevant are the standard works of Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms (see the Schwann Catalogue) and the major symphonic works of Joachim Raff and Anton Rubinstein (both also in Schwann).

III. Music of the parlor and the people

"Irish Songs and Melodies of Thomas Moore," Charles Kennedy tenor (Saga STXID 5247, may be difficult to find)

"Cornet Favorites," Gerard Schwarz, cornet (Nonesuch 71298)

"Songs by Stephen Foster," Jan DeGaetani, mezzo (Nonesuch 71268); there are many other good Foster records, including those by the Shaw Chorale (RCA) and the Wagner Chorale (Angel); an excellent recording is a collection of 78 transfers by Richard Grooks (Victrola)

"After the Ball," Joan Morris, mezzo (Nonesuch 71304)

See also recordings of Gilbert and Sullivan, Sousa, Civil War Songs, Irish songs, and the music of vaudeville. Check the attic for the popular recordings of McCormack, Gadski, Tibbett, Galli-Curci, and many others. Many have been reissued on Victrola, Rococco, and other labels. Ruggiero Ricci and Aaron Rosand have made several good recordings of 19th-century virtuoso violin music (London Stereo Treasures, Candide, Vox, Decca)

IV. New England Composers of the 19th Century

"The Early String Quartet in the U.S.A." (works by Mason, Griffes, Foote, Chadwick, Hadley, Loeffler), Kohon Quartet (Vox SVBX 5301)

"Yankee Organ Music," Richard Ellsasser, organ (Nonesuch 71200)

"An Anthology of American Organ Music," Vol. II, Janice Beck (Musical Heritage Society OR A-263)

Hora Novissima (oratorio) by Horatio Parker, Strickland (Desto 6413)
Symphonic Sketches by Chadwick, Hanson (Mercury SRI 75050)
"The Dawning of Music in Kentucky," music of Anthony Philip Heinrich--not a New England composer, but an important influence here, Bruce (Vanguard S349)
"American Piano Music," Mandel (Desto 6445/7)
Mr. H. H. A. Beach, Piano Music, played by Eskin (Genesis 1054)
Mrs. Beach and Arthur Foote, Piano Quintets (Turnabout 34556)
Charles Martin Loeffler (Alsation, but uniquely important in the BSO and in New England), Pagan Poem. Stokowski (Seraphim S-60080)

Edward Macdowell is best represented of N.E. composers on recordings. See the Schwann Catalogue for listings of the two piano concerti, two orchestral suites (Hanson on Mercury), and piano music. Notable piano recordings are those of John Kirkpatrick (Columbia Collectors' Issue) and Rudolph Ganz (a historic performance of the "Eroica" Sonata on Veritas).

V. The BSO and its early conductors

"The Golden Years of the Boston Symphony"-- a marvelous RCA special reissue (SP-33-181) of performances by Muck, Koussevitzky, Monteux, and Munch, not currently available, but it can be found; the Muck BSO recordings of Wagner and Tchaikovsky were the first serious orchestral recordings of the Victor Talking Machine Company (1917). Check the attic for them as well as Georg Henschel's European recordings of Beethoven's 1st Symphony and art songs by himself and by Schumann; Nikisch's pioneering Berlin Philharmonic recording of Beethoven's 5th Symphony (and other works) has recently been reissued by Electrola (import--1913 lo-fi).

Koussevitzky is woefully under-represented in the current catalogues. Sibelius Symphony No. 2, Brahms and Beethoven Nos. 3, Moussorgsky and Ravel are available on domestic and/or import RCA, and there are new Victrola issues of Copland and Prokofieff. His many other recordings must, for the most part, be hunted. Of particular Bostonian interest is a virtuosic reading of the Foote E major Suite for Strings, once reissued on Victor VCM 6174.

"The Boston Opera Company, 1909-1914"-- an excellent disk devoted to reissues of recordings by the leading singers in that company. Issued in conjunction with the Eaton book, now deleted (Columbia ML6099).

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Boston An Urban Community

Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Alexander Bloom
with the assistance of
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Boston Public Library, 1976

FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assist in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

The first two eight-week learning sequences were:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

INTRODUCTION

This reading guide to Boston political and social history developed out of an offering at the Boston Public Library under the National Endowment for the Humanities' Learning Library Program. The eight-week sequence, entitled "Bibles, Brahmins, and Bosses," presented a series of lectures by Professor Thomas H. O'Connor of the Boston College History Department. The lectures covered the period from the coming of the Puritans to the modern day.

This reading guide has been divided into the eight general areas upon which the lectures focused. They were:

1. Bibles: The religious and political leaders who established the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630, and who laid the moral and ethical foundations of the Puritan Commonwealth.

2. Bluebloods: The political leaders of the Revolutionary era who set the social tone of Boston society in the late eighteenth century.

3. Brahmins: The social leaders of Boston in the first quarter of the nineteenth century who took upon themselves the dual obligation of controlling the political future of the newly chartered city and also directing its financial prosperity.

4. Benefactors: The intellectual and religious leaders of Boston in the mid-nineteenth century who launched a series of humanitarian reforms.

5. Beautifiers: The social and financial leaders of Boston at the turn of this century.

6. Bosses: The ethnic and political leaders of twentieth century Boston who rose to power and prominence based in the neighborhoods.

7. Bureaucrats: The business and academic leaders of the post-World War II era who attempted to create a new coalition of community leaders.

8. Bewilderment: A survey of the present condition of leadership and the problems of Boston in the 1970's.

BIBLES

Samuel Eliot Morison. Builders of the Bay Colony. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930, xiv, 365 p.

A Boston institution himself, Samuel Eliot Morison is one of America's greatest historians and colonial experts. His early works on the American Puritans helped change the stereotyped picture of the dour Massachusetts Bay colonist to a more balanced, sympathetic view of individuals trying to sustain their religious, political and intellectual beliefs in a rough, new world. This particular work is a series of portraits of the colony's "builders." Some are well-known names in American history: John Winthrop, John Eliot, and Anne Bradstreet. Others are less known to us, such as the fur trader and frontier magistrate William Pynchon or Henry Dunster of Harvard. Their inclusion helps provide a rounded view of the colony, a goal of much of Morison's writing.

Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964.

Edmund S. Morgan. The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1958, 224 p.

Morgan's brief biography of John Winthrop is one of a series published by Little, Brown. The greatest value of the series lies in a synthesis of the individual's life with the crucial questions or movements of his age. Thus, this book serves not only as an extended sketch of the first Massachusetts Bay Governor, but is the best introduction to the often knotty problems of the religious debates which plagued the seventeenth

century Puritans. The difficulties with Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, for example, are placed in their intellectual context. Similarly, the internal paradox which Winthrop felt, his "dilemma," sheds light on the conflict of religious righteousness versus the democratic spirit. This work is a very accessible introduction to Puritan thinking.

Paperback edition: Little, Brown & Co., [n.d.].

Darrett B. Rutman. Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965, x, 324 p.

This work focuses on the developing society of Puritan New England and discusses whether Puritans were able to achieve the high-minded goals they set for themselves. Beginning with Winthrop's speech to the community, given aboard ship on the trans-Atlantic crossing, Rutman charts the development of the town against the ideal. He illustrates Winthrop's disenchantment not with the English religious scene, but with societal developments. As the colony grows one sees Winthrop's conception become increasingly less applicable and by 1649, totally meaningless. Congregationalism and dispersion have replaced his concept of a single, unified society.

Paperback edition: W. W. Norton, 1972.

BLUEBLOODS

Esther Forbes. Paul Revere and the World He Lived In. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942, xiii, 510 p.

The importance of Paul Revere extended well beyond his famous "midnight ride" and Esther Forbes illustrates this in her popular biography of the Boston silversmith and patriot. While her book focuses on Revere's life, beginning with his parents and his childhood, it is simultaneously a social portrait of the community in which Revere lived. The first half of the book, in fact, precedes that famous "eighteenth of April" and provides a view of pre-Revolutionary Boston. Running parallel to Revere's life in the book is that of Thomas Hutchinson, of the wealthy merchant family. Hutchinson will also come to play a significant role in the Revolution, but as a Loyalist Governor and ultimately an exile.

Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin Co., [n.d.].

James M. Banner. To the Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789-1815. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, xiii, 378 p.

The Hartford Convention of December, 1814, marks the death knell of the kind of New England Federalism which had dominated the political scene since the Revolution. Banner seeks to answer the question of why the Federalists were willing to assent to the Convention's decisions against the War of 1812, but not willing to carry their opposition against the government's policy further. His

conclusion is that Federalism was already beginning to feel the republican pressures which would ultimately overwhelm it and that rivalries already existed within the conservative factions. Another valuable section of the work is a discussion of the intellectual origins of Federalism.

Samuel Eliot Morison. Harrison Gray Otis, 1765-1848: The Urbane Federalist. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969, xxii, 561 p.

Originally his doctoral dissertation (The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis), Morison has revised and condensed this biography of one of his ancestors. A leading Federalist around the turn of the nineteenth century, Otis was a legislator and Congressman, as well as delegate to the Hartford Convention. While praising Otis' virtues, Morison is well aware of his relative's shortcomings, especially with regards to his Federalist ideas. Part of the revision of the work has included an expanded discussion of life and the social scene during Otis' years.

BRAHMINS

Martin Green. The Problem of Boston: Some Readings in Cultural History. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966, 234 p.

An Englishman and a literary critic, Martin Green brings a fresh view to his analysis of the cultural world of nineteenth century Boston. His focuses are on the ways in which culture intertwines with social development and on the particularly unique aspects of Boston culture.

Seeing the century clearly divided between the pre-Civil War years and the Gilded Age, Green chooses two Boston cultural figures, George Ticknor and Charles Eliot Norton, to symbolize their respective eras. This book is a provocative discussion of some neglected aspects of nineteenth century Boston culture.

Paperback edition: W. W. Norton, [n.d.].

Ferris Greenslet. The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946, xi, 442 p.

Actually a work which extends beyond the chronological boundaries of this sub-heading, Greenslet's book follows the path of New England history through the lives of the members of the Lowell family, some of whose most illustrious members lived during this period. Greenslet's seven worlds -- the New World, the Revolution, Turbid Time, Periclean Age, Civil War, Victorian New England, and the New World Again -- provide the setting for several generations of Lowells, many of whom live through more than one age. One interesting aspect of this book, is the close connection between the Lowells and Harvard.

Thomas H. O'Connor. Lords of the Loom, the Cotton Whigs and the Coming of the Civil War. New York: Scribner, 1968, ix, 214 p.

A study of the political, social, and economic attitudes of such Massachusetts textile leaders as the Lowells, the Lawrences, and the Appletons as they made the transformation from a small group of entrepreneurs after the War of 1812 to a major force in the affairs of the Bay State by the first

half of the nineteenth century. Linked to the plantation South by their need for cotton, the textile leaders attempted to play down the Abolition movement and placate their Southern friends, until the Kansas-Nebraska Act caused them to support the free-soil cause in Kansas. According to O'Connor the Civil War did not come about because of an "irrepressible" conflict between the economic systems of the North and the South, but in spite of the earnest efforts of Northern conservatives such as the "Lords of the Loom" to head off such a catastrophe.

BENEFACTORS

Henry Steele Commager. Theodore Parker. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1936, ix, 339 p.

Another work by a dean of American history, Henry Steele Commager's life of Theodore Parker draws a portrait of a man committed to the reforms of the mid-nineteenth century, but unwilling to travel the path of withdrawal from society chosen by some of his contemporaries. Parker was involved in an enormous variety of undertakings. A Unitarian minister faced with conservative trends within the religion, he chose to remain in the church and fight for reform, unlike Emerson. In addition, Parker was a Transcendentalist, an Abolitionist, and a scholar who wrote with considerable expertise on theology, linguistics, science, literature, and history. Given the leading lights of literary Concord, this Bostonian is often overlooked.

Paperback edition: Beacon Press, 1947.

Van Wyck Brooks. The Flowering of New England. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1936, 6, 550 p.

Van Wyck Brooks' study of New England literature and culture in the first half of the nineteenth century is a classic. As a single work, it provides a unified appraisal of the development of an American native culture. Yet, from its first chapter on "The Boston of Gilbert Stuart", through those on Prescott, Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Holmes and many others, Brooks' work can be enjoyed by dipping in here and there. Brooks' scope leaves few anecdotal stones unturned.

Paperback edition: Dutton, [n.d.].

Russel B. Nye. William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1955, 215 p.

Another in the excellent series from which Morgan's biography of Winthrop came, Nye's short life of Garrison places the Abolitionist at the center of the anti-slavery movement. Yet, it does not make the all-too-common mistake of focusing solely on Garrison when discussing Abolitionism. Other leaders of the movement, including those who predate Garrison, are included. Additionally, other aspects of Garrison's life are discussed, as are the other social and reformist currents of the time.

Paperback edition: Little, Brown & Co., 1969.

BEAUTIFIERS

Cleveland Amory. The Proper Bostonians. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1947, 381 p.

Cleveland Amory's somewhat anecdotal history of the "proper" Bostonians makes delightful reading, with a number of serious arguments stitched in. Discussing a variety of first families and their lifestyles, customs, and manners, Amory develops the story of the Boston elite. He finds that they extend not back to the Mayflower or the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but to the "merchant princes" of the nineteenth century. A book which is witty and wise and of a world which seems much less near us today than when it was written in 1947.

Paperback edition: Dutton, [n.d.].

Arthur Mann. Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954, x, 314 p.

The traditional portrait of the late nineteenth century Yankee withdrawing from the world of Boston politics and reform to one of the "genteel" tradition is challenged by Arthur Mann. While clearly not justifying or defending all Brahmins, Mann does find a goodly number of serious reformers and sincere liberalism. Some of the areas he considers are social welfare, settlement work, antitrust crusading, as well as other reforms.

Paperback edition: Harper and Row, 1954.

Louise Hall Tharp. Mrs. Jack, A Biography of Isabella Stewart Gardner. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1965, xii, 365 p.

Perhaps the other side of Arthur Mann's coin, Louise Tharp's subject is truly a late nineteenth century Boston institution. An outsider who came to dominate Boston society and who left to the city her palatial home-museum, "Mrs. Jack" was also involved with Boston reform and politics. Within Tharp's pages are illustrations of Isabella Stewart Gardner's influence on art and social customs, as well as sketches of some of her friends: Henry Adams, Henry James, John Singer Sargent, James MacNeil Whistler, Charles Eliot Norton, and Bernard Berenson. If nothing else, Mrs. Jack's manner and style make for an appealing story.

BOSSES

Edwin O'Connor. The Last Hurrah. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1956, 427 p.

The classic novel of Boston politics, Edwin O'Connor's story is of a thinly disguised James Michael Curley. While some events have been rearranged and the time in which the novel set is a bit more modern than would be historically correct, Frank Skeffington's (Curley) last campaign offers a great deal of insight into the phenomenon who was at the center of Boston politics for nearly forty years. From the way in which he dealt with the needs of his constituents to his ability to sway an audience, O'Connor provides an insightful picture of the ultimate Boston Irish politician.

Paperback edition: Bantam Books.

Leslie G. Ainley. Boston Mahatma: The Public Career of Martin M. Lomasney. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1949, x, 249 p.

A somewhat uncritical biography of one of the most important of the pre-Curley ward bosses, Martin Lomasney. From his seat of power in the West End (at that time the famous Ward 8), Lomasney became one of the typical turn-of-the-century urban bosses, caring for the people in his district and turning out the precise vote he expected on election day. Never attaining any office higher than State Senator, Lomasney had the power to make or break other Boston politicians, including once promising an opponent "to lick you with a newsboy" and doing so. Ainley's work is, however, much too praiseful and too apt to smooth over the rough spots.

Joseph Francis Dineen. The Purple Shamrock: The Hon. James Michael Curley of Boston. New York: W. W. Norton, 1949, 331 p.

Until a scholarly life of Curley is written, Joseph Dineen's work will stand as the best biography of Boston's legendary political boss. Emerging at a time when bosses were commonplace on the American political scene, Curley lasted well beyond the decline of his contemporaries. Dineen, in fact, comments in his introduction that with the fall of Frank Hague of Jersey City, Curley remained the only "old-time boss" left in 1949. While neither academic nor "authorized," Dineen's book does have the advantage of Curley's direct participation. It grew out of Curley's attempt to tell "his side of the story" to Dineen, a Boston Globe reporter. In addition to Curley, himself, sketches of other

individuals from Boston's political past include Martin Lomasney, John F. ("Honey Fitz") Fitzgerald, Maurice Tobin, and John McCormack. Of added interest is the ambivalent relationship between Curley and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

BUREAUCRATS AND BEWILDERMENT

Because of the temporal proximity of the source material, little has been written about the history of Boston politics in the years after the Second World War. One notable exception is the work dealing with the early years of John F. Kennedy's career. Kenneth P. O'Donnell and David F. Powers, with Joe McCarthy, "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye": Memories of John F. Kennedy (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1972, ix, 434 p.) is the best of the books, from a Boston perspective. Described as a "warm, intimate portrait of JFK" by his "two oldest cronies," these remembrances cover all of Kennedy's career. The first four chapters, however, deal with his development in Boston, his entry into Congressional politics, the Senate fight with Henry Cabot Lodge, and his use of Massachusetts as a political base to seek the Vice-Presidential nomination in 1956. Offering insight into JFK's early years, this book also is valuable for understanding the post-war Boston political scene.

Beyond this and other similar works, little has been done on local Boston political developments, notably the mayoralties of John Hynes and John Collins. A work which traces the physical change of Boston in these years is Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston in the Age of John Fitzgerald Kennedy (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1966, xv, 208 p.)

A significant change for modern Boston has been the partial breakdown of the neighborhoods, a pheno-

menon to which sociologists have paid close attention. Three studies of these changes in Boston have been published. Both Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1962, xvi, 367 p.; paperback edition: Free Press) and Marc Fried, The World of the Urban Working Class (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973, ix, 410 p.) deal with the now defunct West End. William F. Whyte, Street-Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955, xxii, 366 p.; paperback edition: University of Chicago) discusses the North End.

Difficulties regarding the school system are not new and two works published during the 1960's deal with the relationships between Boston politics, the school committee and the ethnic groups of Boston. They are Jonathan Kozol, Death at an Early Age (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1967, xiii, 240 p.; paperback edition: Bantam Books) and Peter Schrag, Village School Downtown (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967, 191 p.; paperback edition: Beacon Press).

SUPPLEMENTARY

Three additional books which do not directly fit into the divisions established for this sequence are extremely worthwhile for a general understanding of Boston's growth and development. They are:

Walter Muir Whitehill. Boston: A Topographical History. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968, xi, 299 p.

This work traces the changes in the Boston landscape, from its beginnings as a peninsula connected to the rest of Massachusetts by a narrow neck of land to the contemporary work of the Boston Redevelopment Authority. Landfills, architecture styles, city planning (or lack of it) and many other topics come under the scrutiny of the former Boston Atheneum director, Walter Muir Whitehill.

Oscar Handlin. Boston's Immigrants. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941, xvii, 287 p.

Beginning with nineteenth century Boston before the mass of immigration and with the conditions in Ireland which forced the peasants off the land and to America, Harvard historian Oscar Handlin charts the impact of the "new" Bostonians on the city during the nineteenth century. While dealing with all the immigrant groups who came during the last century, the focus is primarily on the Irish and native American reaction to them. An invaluable introduction to Boston history.

Paperback edition: Atheneum, 1968.

Sam Bass Warner, Jr. Streetcar Suburbs. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962, xxi, 288 p.

One of America's leading urban historians, Boston University's Sam Bass Warner here analyses the alterations in the Boston geography which resulted from the coming of the streetcar and the way in which this change in transportation led to the development of the suburbs at the end of the trolley lines. An important work for looking at the physical changes and living patterns in late nineteenth century Boston.

Paperback edition: Atheneum, 1969.

Boston An Urban Community

Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone

An Annotated Reading List

Prepared by
George K. Lewis &
Robert Kaye
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

Boston Public Library, 1977

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INTRODUCTION

Few cities in the world have had as much written about them as Boston. Yet, like so many other large cities, almost nothing has been written about its geography, especially its physical geography.

The initial settlement of Boston and its subsequent expansion to metropolitan scale over hundreds of square miles of eastern Massachusetts have been influenced by differences in local topography, by river courses and coastal features, by tidal marshes and depth to bedrock, and by a variety of other characteristics of the Boston region.

Man has been constantly trying to adapt this land to his needs and in so doing, has greatly altered the original Boston landscape in many ways. Hills have been leveled, bays and coves filled, rivers dammed, and ponds drained. The resident of today is often quite unaware of the magnitude of these changes or "how things used to look."

The references in this bibliography represent the best of a lean selection that illuminates this shadowy and poorly-known aspect of Boston.

Crosby, Irving B. Boston Through the Ages. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1928.

A delightful book that contains in its modest number of pages (166), more information on Boston's geology and geomorphology than any book before or since. Time has not dimmed the luster of Crosby's brisk, readable essays. This book was intended for a reader who had never heard of such technical terms as "conglomerates" or "drumlins". Each essay is illustrated with photographs and sketches. A few of the photographs look almost Victorian, and one fears that some scenes may have been drastically altered or destroyed since 1928. Crosby includes a special section on "interesting localities" in Boston. Some energetic Bostonian of the '70's should check them out today to see how many have survived. A substantial bibliography includes books and articles, mostly geological, available at that time.

Laforge, Lawrence. Geology of the Boston Area, Massachusetts. U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin 839. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932.

Laforge's description of Boston's bedrock geology and geomorphology is the most detailed and complete available. This slim book is packed with information about all the major rock types found both within and without the Boston Basin (shown on a map of the Boston area) as well as principal glacial features and surface materials (also shown on a large-scale map). The book is illustrated by a large number of photographs of various rock exposures, coastal features, eskers, etc., some of which no longer exist. Occasional use of mineral names will be

difficult for a non-geologist, but on the whole, Laforge will give the average person a good understanding of Boston's geology.

Seaburg, Carl. Boston Observed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

Seaburg's Boston Observed is an affectionate and anecdotal history of the "Athens of New England." Hoping "to serve greater Bostonians somewhat as a family attic...," the book is generously interlaced with prints, photos, and memorabilia (e.g., a picture of the banner of the Boston Young Men's Total Abstinence Society, 1834, is included). The text is eminently readable and entertaining, portraying the large and the small events in the life of Boston and its citizenry. Between chapters are "interludes" of quotations from famous and forgotten sources contemporary to each historical period the author describes. A dearth of maps is the book's major shortcoming--just as street signs are absent from many of Boston's thoroughfares. Seaburg incorrectly assumes that if the reader doesn't know where things are, he or she doesn't belong there.

Shurtleff, Nathaniel B. A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston. Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1871.

This solid work, the "grand-daddy" of all books on Boston's geography, does just what its title suggests. In some 690 pages, it covers the history of Boston (briefly), descriptions of the city by travelers (from William Wood in the seventeenth century on), detailed accounts of boundary changes, cemeteries, bridges, aque-

ducts, islands, taverns, and other interesting buildings. The harbor and its islands get considerably more attention than they do today. This is a very readable account, even packed with facts as it is. Most of them contribute to a better understanding of the city. There are a number of excellent maps and city views. Nothing like this book has been produced before or since--and remarkably good a century later!

Snow, Edward Rowe. The Romance of Boston Bay. Boston: The Yankee Publishing Company, 1944.

Edward Rowe Snow is Mr. Boston Harbor. No contemporary Bostonian can match his vast knowledge of the harbor, its islands, lighthouses, shipwrecks, ghosts, or legends. This particular book contains many of his best stories about the bay as well as a detailed description of each of the islands and their forts. Governor's Island, no longer existing, covers eleven pages. Snow then proceeds north and south of Boston to include descriptions of coastal features as far as Salem and Scituate. The final chapters treat two of Snow's favorite topics--Boston's lighthouses and her lightships. After his usual carefully documented history of each feature, Snow always has time for a story or two.

Thwing, Annie Haven. The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630-1822. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920.

An extraordinary description of the history of Boston up to 1822 hung on the framework of its streets. The Boston of the book is the original Shawmut Peninsula up to and including the Neck. The town is divided up into five regions, and

each section includes a detailed map of the area. Each street is labeled with the one or more names which it may have had, and important taverns, mills, churches, forts, windmills, etc. are noted. Each street is described in "Registry of Deeds" detail. The laying out, the allocation of lots sales and transfers, owners--no detail is overlooked. School Street covers six pages. There are a small number of illustrations and an overwhelming index.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. Boston: A Topographical History. Second Edition. Cambridge, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.

This is the classic work on Boston's geography familiar to most of today's residents. It was undoubtedly inspired by Whitehill's acquaintance with Nathaniel Shurtleff's monumental book some 90 years earlier (mentioned above) and upon which Whitehill draws upon occasion. This is a delightfully easy book to read, but have a street map on hand unless you are a Boston cab driver. Whitehill's "Boston" includes only the original Shawmut Peninsula, augmented by later landfill. There are occasional nods to other parts of the city or to neighboring municipalities. Unlike Shurtleff, this book is lavishly illustrated and rich in maps. There are no less than 116 "figures." Special attention is paid by Whitehill to the complex history of land reclamation in Boston, particularly in the Back Bay. Whitehill should be your starting point in trying to comprehend the Boston landscape.

(A paperback edition is available from Harvard University Press.)

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The Emerging Immigrants of Boston

An Annotated Reading List
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"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4, 1976-March 31, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

Boston's history is usually told in terms of the considerable accomplishments and occasional foibles of its Puritan, later Brahmin, leadership. Such an approach seriously distorts the realities of the city for it does not take sufficient note of the vast changes which have resulted from massive and prolonged immigration. This bibliography has been compiled to encourage study of a vital determinant of Boston's modern history.

"Immigration" is a term that stands for a very complex and paradoxical process, one that has been both enlarging and divisive for Boston, one that has offered challenges and opportunities to native Bostonians and immigrants alike, even as it provoked animosities. For immigrants it involved the severing of an existence in one society, resocialization--relearning of roles, adaptation of values--in a new one, and then integration, in however varied a fashion into the new society. For Boston it is the story of the impact of alien newcomers on existing institutions and values and patterns of living, of the mediation of tensions normative in a multi-ethnic society, of the expansion of the definition of Bostonian.

So that the reader may better understand the available work on immigrants in Boston, this bibliography is organized into six parts. Initially it considers the city on the eve of massive immigration; second, the "immigrant" or "first generation" experience of various national groups in Boston, listed in the sequence in which they appeared in Boston in significant numbers; then the politics, which in Boston has been the most visible facet of immigrant presence;

next, the responses of the city to the continuing demographic upheaval; fifth, patterns of assimilation into Boston; and finally, the social tensions which have resulted from immigration.

The books available on these topics provide a most incomplete picture of the whole complex process of immigration. Thus, before beginning a study of Boston's immigrants, students would benefit from familiarity with works on the general topic of immigration to America. Two recent examples of such works, each containing a comprehensive bibliography, have been written by two Englishmen: Maldwyn Jones, American Immigration (Chicago, 1960); and Philip Taylor, The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the United States (New York, 1975).

This bibliography is an outgrowth of a Learning Library Program course given at Boston Public Library by Professor Andrew Buni of Boston College under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities in the winter of 1976. Those who have been Dr. Buni's students will understand when I thank him for his constant encouragement and goading, for the example of his ever-renewed delight in learning.

I The Eve of Immigration

Boston, we are told, was at its pinnacle circa 1840: the Athens, the cultural and moral center of the nation. Over two centuries old, the city still maintained much of its original sense of cultural cohesiveness. It had had little experience with massive immigration: the substantial non-English migrations of colonial times had gone to other colonies, and after the Revolution the city attracted only the small clusters of foreign born which were common to large commercial cities.

Ireland was at its nadir about 1840. Harshly oppressed for centuries by England, its native population had been deprived of most civil and economic liberties. Any hopes for betterment raised by the recent Catholic emancipation were being bitterly mocked by the presence of famine and plague which were to kill a million people and cause the emigration of a million more.

The arrival in Yankee Boston of these Irish led to a confrontation of two cultures, related to each other yet vastly separate, each tragically unprepared in its own way to meet the impact. This first immigration was unique in the city's history: never again would immigrants be so wretched, never again would the city be so unprepared for them. Because Boston was so noted for its cultural accomplishments and the immigrants for their misery, both have been well described.

Martin Green, The Problem of Boston: Some Readings in Cultural History. New York, 1966.

Ray A. Billington, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860. A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. New York, 1938.

Peter Knights, The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860. Afterword by Eric Lampard. New York, 1971.

Cecil Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger, Ireland, 1845-1848. New York, 1962.

Martin Green, an English literary critic, analyses pre- and post-Civil War Boston in The Problem of Boston, using terms that are largely cultural. However, since he perceives culture to be highly relevant to the life of the society it graces, his insights have more than literary scope. The sense of an urban elite's proprietary pride in the accomplishments of the cohesive society is clearly drawn. His descriptions of Boston culture and society are familiar, but the relations he draws between their accomplishments and their shortcomings are original.

The reverse of this portrait of civic and cultural accomplishment was the religious animosity which had been endemic to the city for much of its existence. The original Puritan exclusiveness which had opposed all other faiths had given way to a newer Protestant inclusiveness which had identified itself with American patriotism, and saw Catholicism as a threat to that nationalism. This tradition which climaxed in the Know-Nothing Party of the 1850's is detailed by Ray A. Billington in The Protestant Crusade. In accounting for the strength of the movement, Billington does not give adequate consideration to other social tensions, but he does make clear the animosity which would be experienced by the large numbers of Catholic immigrants.

A presentation of the demographic characteristics of Boston during the ante-bellum period is given in

Peter Knights' Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860. Knights is primarily concerned with the extent of mobility of population in and out of the city, and has succeeded well in showing the great "churning" of Bostonians many of whom came from northern and rural New England. The valuable "Afterword" by Eric Lampard, a noted urban historian, defines the role of Boston in establishing the burgeoning New England industrial economy.

The outlines of the Irish famine are known, but a masterly recounting of the unfolding of the tragedy and its results, including emigration on mass scale, is in Cecil Woodham-Smith's The Great Hunger. The people she describes were those who came to Boston in numbers large enough to constitute a fourth of the city's population in 1850.

At the time of this compilation the following titles were available in paperback editions: Green, The Problem of Boston (Norton); Billington, The Protestant Crusade (Quadrangle); Knights, The Plain People of Boston (Oxford University Press).

II The Immigration Experience

The experiences of immigration are searing ones for those caught up in its great journeys, experiences marked by poignant and painful dislocations and resettlements. One of the most challenging of these points of abrupt change always occurs when immigrants arrive in a new society: aliens, they have to resocialize themselves, learn the values and imperatives of a new culture, even as they maintain some sense of personal integrity.

This "immigrant" of "first generation" experience is characterized by a paradoxical duality: a contrast

between limiting, constricting conditions and considerable innovation and energy within those confines. The limitations are well known and real: homelessness, poverty, lack of usable skills, poorest of jobs, discrimination, separation from the larger society. The strengths of the immigrant group are perhaps less accentuated but also real: the variety of formal and informal institutions which the travelers established to help themselves in resocialization: newspapers, financial institutions, philanthropic enterprises, churches and schools, fraternal organizations and friendship networks. The ability of the poor and the displaced to create subcommunities of variety and vitality amid their handicaps in Boston and elsewhere is remarkable.

This section considers what has been written on the experiences of each of the immigrant groups that appeared in Boston, in the order in which they appeared in significant numbers. These works deal with both the limiting nature of the first generation experience and with the growth of organization within the immigrant communities themselves.

IIA The Irish

Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation. Cambridge, 1941, 2d rev. ed., 1959.

Sr. Alphonsine Frawley, Patrick Donahoe. Washington, D. C., 1946.

Robert H. Lord et al., History of the Archdiocese of Boston. 3 v., Boston, 1945.

Donna Merwick, Boston Priests, 1848-1910: A Study of Intellectual and Social Change. Cambridge, 1973.

Roger Lane, "James Jeffrey Roche and the Boston Pilot," New England Quarterly, 33(September, 1960), 341-63.

Oscar Handlin's classic Boston's Immigrants depicts graphically the limiting, even harrowing, nature of the initial Irish immigrant experience in Boston,

as well as the interaction of the city with the alien newcomers. Handlin emphasizes the divisive and dependent nature of this immigration and thus views with some alarm the formation of a structured immigrant community, within what he conceived to be a unitary Boston culture. Because he is concerned with the strains that immigration placed on this older Boston culture, he obscures the larger significance of this demographic shift which should be seen as the beginning of a process that would substantially widen the definition of Bostonian, even as it would lead, in a nationwide context, to the development of modern American pluralistic society.

The Irish immigrant community that did form in Boston was able, because of its considerable numbers, to create an institutionally varied sub-culture, to serve their own needs and strengthen a new identity even as they learned Boston ways. To grasp the extent of immigrant institutions is to comprehend their efforts to resocialize themselves in an indifferent yet demanding new world. Patrick Donahoe was one of the most noted of the Irish immigrant leaders, but he would have his counterpart in all later immigrant groups. Publisher, banker, philanthropist, churchman: the broad extent of his activities was typical of the versatility of the leaders of later groups. The biography, Patrick Donahoe, by Sr. M. Alphonsine Frawley is limited by the inaccessibility of primary documentation, but is useful for understanding the dynamics of immigrants' communal structures.

Religious institutions have been among the most universal of immigrant institutions. The influence of secular, industrial society forced adaptation in religious practice, in the roles traditionally assumed by religious leaders, but in meeting these challenges churches were able to play an important part in immigrant life. The Catholic Church had al-

ready been established in Boston before 1840, and the impact of Irish immigrants on it is a major theme in the History of the Archdiocese of Boston by Rev. Robert H. Lord and others, and in Boston Priests by Donna Merwick. The former stresses the building of the institution over more than a century, the latter the changes in intellectual style over a shorter period, but both bear witness positively and negatively, to the effects of immigrants on the church and to the importance of the church to immigrant life.

Immigrant journalism was yet another facet of the immigrant subcommunity, and the Boston Pilot, organ of the Boston Irish, was one of the most notable of these papers. Guide and spokesman for immigrants vis à vis the larger city, the Pilot's mission was predicated on the continued existence of a predominantly immigrant community. When, by 1900, the Irish had begun to be a native born rather than a predominantly immigrant community, the Pilot would be speaking for and to a constituency with new needs, new responsibilities in Boston. Whether the editors of the paper, traditionally leaders of the immigrant community, would perceive this change in status, what guidance they would offer, is the concern of Roger Lane's "James Jeffrey Roche and the Boston Pilot." The article poses questions of adaptation of purpose which all immigrant groups would face as they shifted from immigrant to native Bostonian.

A paperback edition of Handlin, Boston's Immigrants (Atheneum) was available at the time of this compilation.

IIB The British Canadians

Rowland Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950. Cambridge, 1953.

Albert Kennedy, "The British Canadians in Boston" unpublished mss., Harvard Archives.

Leon Truesdell, Canadian Born in the United States. An Analysis of Statistics of the Canadian Element in the Population of the U.S., 1850-1930. New Haven, 1943.

From 1870 to 1940 British Canadians, largely from the Maritime Provinces, came to Boston in numbers great enough to make them the second most numerous immigrant group in the city. To the census takers they were immigrants, but should they be so classified in a cultural sense? Sharing common linguistic, religious, political traditions with the native Bostonians, possessing skills to facilitate economic mobility, they traveled a very short way, geographically and culturally.

Yet however close to native Boston culture they were, British Canadians shared with other immigrants some sense of being foreign, some need for a group life. Rowland Berthoff includes them with other British immigrants in his study of British Immigrants in Industrial America. Because the book focuses on industrial occupations, it fails to show the wide range of British Canadian occupations from the professional to the unskilled, but it does give examples of their group life, in Boston among other places, which include lodges, newspapers, and participation in group conflict. Identifying strongly with the Protestant dimension of native Boston society they were caught up in the religious tensions of the late nineteenth century and sided notably with the native religion even while they kept distinct the other facets of their identity. (See section VI)

With the diminishing of these tensions after the turn of the century, British Canadians' public role in Boston diminished as well, though many continued to maintain a separate social existence.

An intimate portrait of these British Canadians in Boston in the years before World War I was written by Albert Kennedy, an associate of social worker Robert Woods at South End Settlement House. He was fascinated by the distinct social patterns which many maintained as young single people often clustering in the South End, and the ease with which they usually assimilated into Boston life after they had married.

Theirs was an immigrant experience with very few limiting aspects, yet they maintained group identity in their settlement patterns in and about Boston. Statistics on this and other facets of their immigration patterns to the United States generally are found in Leon Truesdell's Canadian Born in the United States.

IIC Germans

Francis X. Weiser, S.J., Holy Trinity Parish, Boston, Massachusetts, 1844-1944. Boston, 1944.
Roswell Phelps, South End Factory Operatives, Employment and Residence. Boston, 1903.

The German immigration to Boston proceeded slowly and steadily throughout the nineteenth century; at its height about 1890 the Germans comprised about 7% of the city's foreign born population. Coming from a modernized nation, they brought occupational skills and values which facilitated their economic absorption into the city, but they maintained a German identity and institutional life for several generations. Partly from smallness of numbers, partly from general acceptance by Bostonians, they seemed in no way disposed to ruffle the life of the city; even that endemic New England crusade, prohibition, to which they were culturally opposed, did not provoke them to public acrimony. Glimpses of them as devoted churchgoers may be seen in their church-affiliated cultural

activities in Fr. Francis Weiser's Holy Trinity Parish. Glimpses of them as skilled workers, much admired by Boston observers, may be found in Roswell Phelp's brief study of the South End Factory Operatives.

But it is only in fleeting glimpses that they may be seen by later Bostonians. The Germans had a relatively open immigrant experience. Few in numbers, they added to, but in no way challenged, existing Boston social structure and values. They conformed, in short, to the traditional view of an immigrant group's role in the new society.

IID German Jews

Albert Ehrenfried, A Chronicle of Boston Jewry from the Colonial Settlement to 1900. Boston, 1963.
Arthur Mann, ed., Growth and Achievement: Temple Israel, 1854-1954. Cambridge, 1954.
Barbara Solomon, Pioneers in Service: A History of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston. Boston, 1956.

Unlike most American towns of the colonial period, Boston had had no Jewish synagogue. Not until the coming of small numbers of Jews among the German migrations of the 1840's did an organized Jewish life exist in Boston. A narrative of the institutional life of both German and Eastern European Jews before the twentieth century is in Albert Ehrenfried's privately printed Chronicle of Boston Jewry. Like other Germans the German Jews made the economic and cultural transition to Boston with little difficulty, maintaining their religious-cultural identity while adapting economically and socially to the Boston milieu.

Eager to conform to Boston, a modern world in which they felt much a part, many German Jews sought to adapt the externals of their religion to American customs through the adoption of Reform Judaism. For some, this identification with modernity led further to a call for abandonment of the old religious "divisiveness" and the adoption of new universalistic social creeds such as socialism or secular humanism. Arthur Mann's commemorative volume on the centennial of the founding of Temple Israel, Growth and Achievement: Temple Israel, 1854-1954, describes both of these tendencies in the activities of two early leaders, Rabbis Solomon Schindler and Charles Fleischer. Their Reform congregation rejected the socialism of the former and the secularism of the latter as they struck a balance which combined religious integrity with cultural assimilation.

Even as German Jews were probing the parameters of assimilation with native Bostonians they were striving to unite the factions and segments of Jews into a community. The arrival of tens of thousands of Eastern European Jews, the growing fragmentation into congregations and benevolent organizations, threatened the achievement of a common identity. Using traditional concern for communal charity as their catalyst, German Jews sought to establish institutional coordination, no easy task, as Barbara Solomon demonstrates in Pioneers in Service, the story of the first half century of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies in Boston.

Interlude. Boston, 1900: The Inner City.

Robert A. Woods, ed. The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of South End House. Boston, 1898; New York, 1970.

Robert A. Woods, ed. Americans in Process: A Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of South End House. Boston, 1902; New York, 1970.
Frederick A. Bushee, Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston. New York, 1903, 1970.
John Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of Boston Negroes. Boston, 1914.

Half a century after the first wave of immigration had reached Boston, a second and more massive one was already making itself felt in the city. Of the older immigrants the Irish were still the largest in number and were beginning to assume political power (Section III). Within the group, differences based on economic mobility began to be visible as a middle class, native born but still identifiably Irish, began to appear. Even as they and other groups began to meld into the city's life, huge numbers of new peoples from Eastern and Southern Europe were coming to Boston.

The challenge posed by these alien peoples in the great cities caused native middle-class Americans to assume the task of aiding in their Americanization, notably by living among them in settlement houses to offer guidance and to mediate between them and the larger city. Boston's pioneer social worker was Robert Woods, and it is thanks to him and his associates at South End House that we possess splendid descriptions of the immediate life and the larger significance of immigrants and others in the inner city in the early years of the twentieth century. In their City Wilderness and Americans in Process they achieved a completeness of detail and a sense of immediacy available nowhere else in the literature. The often blunt, unsparing descriptions of the immigrants with their peculiar (to these middleclass observers' eyes) characteristics are harsh, even racist and condescending, to modern readers, but the dedication of these

people to the task of telling their fellow Bostonians of the strangers in their midst mitigates the harshness.

The South End associates produced other works of interest as well. Phelps' South End Operatives has been mentioned in section IIC, and Woods' and Kennedy's Zone of Emergence will be reviewed in section V. Frederick Bushee's Ethnic Factors is a more limited work which focuses on differences between immigrant groups in such matters as mortality, vitality, and other contemporary Darwinian concerns. John Daniels' In Freedom's Birthplace results from a white social worker's activities among Boston blacks. The history of blacks in Boston, coming from a tradition different from that of immigrants, deserves separate consideration; Daniels' book is included here as one of the useful South End Settlement House publications.

IIE Eastern European Jews

Robert Woods, ed., Americans in Process. Boston, 1903.
Golde Bamber, "Russians in Boston," Lend-a-Hand, 8 (1892), 168-172.
Mary Antin, The Promised Land, Boston, 1912, 1962.
Arnold Wieder, Early Jewish Community in the North End. Waltham, 1962.

In sharp contrast to the German Jews were their co-religionists from Eastern Europe who came to Boston in large numbers beginning in the 1880's. In their European environments they had been marked as suspect, limited in social roles, accustomed to a ghetto existence. Aliens in their old countries, they were marked as aliens in Boston as well. The harsh environmental realities and the particular cultural strengths of Jewish life in the North End are depicted in Woods' Americans in Process. An early effort by German Jews

to assist these newcomers in their adjustments to Boston is told by Golde Bamber, who was herself involved in this early example of in-group charity.

Another contemporary account is by Mary Antin who was brought as a child by her family from Russia to Boston. Her family's existence in Boston was a tenuous one, noteworthy for the consistent failures of her father's petty business ventures and for the disintegrative nature of immigrant life which she details poignantly in The Promised Land. She was able to transcend these limitations through her intellectual talents which won her the patronage of sensitive native Bostonians eager to uncover the promise among the aliens in their city. For Mary Antin the great lesson of immigrant life was the abandonment of old habits including traditional religion and the belief in a new universal community of all men.

Such was not the response of most of the Eastern European immigrants however. A retrospective account which stresses the strengths of that immigrant community is provided in Arnold Wieder's Early Jewish Community in the North End. His volume is based on the reminiscences of those who had lived as children in this early Boston home of Eastern European Jews. Although warm with nostalgia and lacking the sense of struggle present in contemporary accounts, the book is valuable for an understanding of the sources of the vitality which immigrants brought with them, of their great desire to find a place in this new city.

Antin, The Promised Land (Houghton Mifflin), was available in paperback as of the date of this compilation.

IIF Italians

Robert A. Woods, ed. Americans in Process. Boston, 1903.

William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society. Chicago, 1943.
Herbert Gans, Urban Villagers. New York, 1962.
Walter Firey, Land Use in Central Boston. Cambridge, 1947.

Italians began to arrive in Boston in significant numbers in the 1890's and have continued to do so with such consistency that they are now the largest group of foreign born in the city. Despite the size and duration of their migration to Boston, the Italians' experiences in Boston have been inadequately chronicled. Woods' always valuable Americans in Process describes Italian immigrants as native Bostonians saw them, but there is no chronicling or analyzing of their institutional development, occupational, geographical, value changes in Boston. Sociologists have composed portraits of segments of the Italian community at particular moments in recent times, but they are ahistorical in nature.

William F. Whyte wrote Street Corner Society in 1940 to prove that there was organization in immigrant slums, places in which many sociologists had assumed only anomic individualism existed. After living for months in the North End, Whyte came to see the order present in the street life of young men, in the rackets, and in politics. He saw the ordered community of the North End principally in terms of frustration and deviance, in the very limited access to the larger world. He emphasized the limitations of the immigrant experience: with social work dominated by Yankees and politics by the Irish, with economic opportunity stagnant from the effects of the prolonged depression, many Italians by 1940 felt constricted in their immigrant experience.

Herbert Gans also lived among Italians in Boston-- after World War II in the West End-- and his portrait

is considerably more balanced in that he considers their lives from a much larger perspective of the family and peer group. Focusing on these as the bases for a very stable social order, Gans can only mourn the bureaucratic arrogance that decreed so arbitrarily the destruction of their area. He portrays a particular kind of prolonged immigrant experience in which people were acculturated to the larger society in their familiarity with language, mass media, occupational structure, yet felt themselves to be at a considerable distance from it.

Walter Firey also was intent on proving a theory when he investigated the North End together with other areas in the inner city. His results, in his Land Use in Central Boston, point to the importance of a central place for immigrant groups, an area to serve as a symbolic focus as well as a common area for merchandise and sociability. Just as Beacon Hill had a particular kind of relationship that gave it value, so the North End had its own traditions in the sense of ethnic clustering to those who lived there and to those who lived in the metropolitan area.

Paperback editions of Whyte, Street Corner Society (University of Chicago Press), and Gans, Urban Villagers (Free Press), were available as of the date of this compilation.

II G ...and Others from Europe

Robert Mirak, Armenians in the United States, 1890-1915. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965.

The previous listing of European immigrants only begins the chronicle; the stories of so many more immigrant groups to Boston remain to be told.

Greeks, Syrians, Poles, Lithuanians and many others have maintained strong group identities for at least a significant part of the original number and their descendants, yet have occasioned rather little public awareness. The American Bicentennial coincides with the growing awareness of the persistence of ethnic identities in Boston; various groups have produced city and state ethnic festivals. The Massachusetts Bicentennial Committee and the Mayor's Office of Cultural Affairs are channels for people who are knowledgeable about the many ethnic subcultures which exist in and around Boston. The detailing of their experiences in the city over time awaits the work of interested people, scholars and amateurs alike, who will do the interviewing, read the immigrant press, seek out the institutional records, trace residential patterns.

For this bibliography the dissertation of Robert Mirak, Armenians in the U.S. 1890-1915 will serve as a model. Although dealing with Armenian migration generally it is useful for Boston because so many Armenians came to Boston and its surrounding industrial cities. The work covers immigration topics well: causes of migration, vicissitudes of the journey, occupations, group life, value adaptation and retention. With a cutoff date at the beginning of World War I, the author can only allude to the fuller development of the Armenian community in Boston and its subsequent removal to the suburbs.

IIH Post 1950: Chinese and Spanish Speaking

Rhoades Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," Economic Geography, 28 (July, 1952), 244-55.

Charles Sullivan and Kathlyn Hatch, Chinese in Boston. Boston (ABCD), 1970.

Adriana Gianturco and Norman Aronin, Boston's Spanish

Speaking Community: Findings of a Field Survey. Boston (ABCD), 1970.

The years after 1950 have seen a resurgence of immigration to Boston and the creation of new or greatly enlarged immigrant communities. The Chinese were able to come in gradually increasing numbers after 1950, an increase which reflected a gradual change in attitudes of Americans toward Orientals. All racial barriers to their immigration were removed in 1965. Numbering 2000 in 1950, their population increased to 8000 in 1970 and is estimated at 15,000 by 1976. The appearance of the Spanish speaking in this city stems from a new destination in an older migration pattern from the Caribbean to the United States, one which had heretofore not been directed to Boston. By 1970 the number of Spanish speaking in Boston had climbed to more than 18,000 and is still increasing.

The material available on these new immigrants is largely based on the results of social surveys which give important demographic data but little sense of the structure or texture of the lives of the people. Gianturco's and Aronin's Boston's Spanish Speaking Community describes this population as young, coming from traditionally undeveloped areas, and posing a challenge to the social agencies and to the city generally.

Rhoades Murphey's article "Boston's Chinatown" describes the history of the area and of the traditional Chinese community there just at the moment when the postwar immigration was being first felt. The gradual opening of the gates to Chinese women and children meant the beginning of a balanced immigrant community which would wish greater contact with the city than the older, male, inward-looking enclave had traditionally been accustomed to.

The increase which came in continually growing numbers in the years since 1950 have resulted in this more balanced population now living almost entirely outside of the old Chinatown area; in 1970 only 2000 of the 8000 Chinese in Boston were able to live there. Sweeney and Hatch's Chinese in Boston uses data from Chinatown, however, when they report that although some of the massive problems of other immigrant groups were not evident among the Chinese, still the traditional immigrant disabilities of poverty, overcrowding, linguistic problems, intergenerational tensions are present.

III Politics

In its inception immigrant politics represented another facet of immigrant group life, a marshalling of group solidarity behind a local politician, much as the community would support their own journalists or clergymen or embryonic businessmen. Unlike other immigrant institutions, politics was not apart from the mainstream institution but directly linked to it, albeit at a lowly level. If group strength could coalesce enough, and if immigrant leaders were astute enough, then their purely supporting role could be transformed into a directing one--and could become a challenge to one of the city's most important coordinators of power.

Unlike the situation in many cities, immigrant politics in Boston began as, remained for a century as, an Irish concern. Having to confront the city as its only major immigrant group by the Civil War--retaining that role well into the twentieth century-- brought disabilities to the Irish, but it also gave them the dominant role in the politics of immigrants. This power was built slowly, shaped by Yankee reformers, thwarted by religious stress, but

by 1900 the Irish could contest native Bostonian politicians as equals. Politics in Boston was strongly colored by an immigrant/old stock polarization which often ran to bitterness. A sense of legitimacy was never quite accorded immigrant politics.

Leslie Ainley, Boston Mahatma. Boston, 1949.
Albert Van Nostrand, "The Lomasney Legend," New England Quarterly, 21(Dec., 1948), 435-50.
Joseph Dineen, Ward Eight. New York, 1936.
John Buenker, "The Mahatma and Progressive Reform: Martin Lomasney as Lawmaker," New England Quarterly, 44 (September, 1971), 397-419.

The initial development of immigrant politics--of the rise of local leaders, of the attainment of a few city jobs, of the tutelage of some Yankee Democrats-- in the years around the Civil War has been little studied. But by the 1880's growing immigrant group consciousness and organizational strength enabled leaders to determine city-wide policy in conjunction with Yankee Democrats, to install significant numbers of their followers in the civic bureaucracy, to barter with extra-governmental city powers like the utility companies. But their constituents were still largely immigrants in the central city.

Martin Lomasney, legendary leader of Ward 8 in the West End, represents this phase in immigrant political development. His base remained among the poor and the immigrants, Irish, Jews, Italians, of the central city, yet his influence was felt on all larger political decisions. Never able to attain city-wide power for himself, his half century of rule in the North and West Ends marked the classic era when the boss played a vital role in organizing the lives of immigrants. His politicized humanitarianism and astute sense of realpolitik have been the theme for most works on him: Leslie Ainley's routine Boston's

Mahatma, Albert Van Nostrand's brief but useful article in the New England Quarterly, Joseph Dineen's novel, Ward Eight.

Originally Lomasney and other city bosses were considered by scholars and reformers to be corrupters of the politics and people of great cities. After 1950 this assessment was modified by growing awareness of their humanitarian concerns and functional value in organizing rapidly growing cities. Now John Buenker reconsiders them still further and sees them as active governmental reformers as well. He uses Martin Lomasney for a test case in his 1971 article in the New England Quarterly.

Ward 9 in the South End was the base of another immigrant politican who was a contemporary of Lomasney's, Smiling Jim Donovan. An inveterate opponent of Lomasney's in city political warfare, outgoing rather than taciturn, less a political maverick, Donovan's external differences with Lomasney should not obscure the similarities of their roles in assisting the needs of their constituents. A quite unsentimental portrait of Donovan and of the men who voted for him is given in Robert Woods' City Wilderness. Woods, unlike many social workers, was eager to work with politicians, rather than disdaining them, for the aid of their common constituents. While deploring, in proper fashion, the use of patronage, Woods was keenly aware of its overriding utility to the immigrants of his district.

Edwin O'Connor, The Last Hurrah. Boston, 1956.
Joseph Dineen, The Purple Shamrock. New York, 1949.
James M. Curley, I'd Do It Again: A Record of All My Uproarious Years. Englewood Cliffs, 1957.
William Shannon, The American Irish. New York, 1963.

James M. Curley was of the generation that follow-

ed Lomasney's even though their careers overlapped. Coming at the time when the Irish had the numbers and the skill to dominate city politics, Curley represented a majority in the city that was part immigrant and part middle class. In his half century of political influence his most consistent identification was with the immigrants of all groups, with the poor of the inner city. A man who engendered and encouraged bitter controversy in his public life, he acquired the stature of a statesman in the years after World War II when scholars began to comprehend city bosses' roles as surrogates for a civic welfare administration, and when novelist Edwin O'Connor immortalized a character like him, who challenged native intolerance with verve and slashing wit. The Last Hurrah is Curley's apotheosis. In the general consensus of this period a Curley biography and autobiography appeared: The Purple Shamrock by Joseph Dineen and I'd Do It Again by Curley himself.

The limiting aspect of immigrant politics in Boston is stressed by William Shannon in The American Irish. While paying full tribute to the difficulties of the Irish role in Boston, Shannon faults Curley's politics for dealing in "fantasy, invective and showmanship" rather than in realistic challenges to establishment institutions.

The Last Hurrah (Bantam), by O'Connor, and The American Irish, by Shannon, were available in paperback at the time this pamphlet was prepared.

Elijah Adlow, On the Threshold of Justice, A Judge's Life Story. Boston, 1973.

Other immigrant groups were involved in city politics besides the Irish, but most often they have been cast in supporting roles. Elijah Adlow was the son of a Jewish immigrant who lived in Roxbury, went

to Harvard, and had a subsequent career in politics and the law, becoming a noted justice on the Boston Municipal Court. His political story in On the Threshold of Justice is as much a tribute to Yankee-Republican political power based on statewide institutions as it is to the existence of strong minority group political power.

IV Responses of the City

Nathan Huggins, Protestants Against Poverty: Boston's Charities 1870-1900. Westport, Conn., 1974.
Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in an Urban Age. Cambridge, 1954.
Eleanor Woods, Robert A. Woods, Champion of Democracy. Boston, 1924.
Allen Davis, Spearheads of Reform: Social Settlements in the Progressive Movement 1890-1914. New York, 1967.

The basic assumption about immigrants was that they, as other Bostonians, would have access to the opportunities of the city; using these opportunities they would make their own way. Some did not; unskilled rural people caught in an imperfectly functioning economy were often unable to rise out of poverty and dependence, and immigrants came to mean in many cases paupers. The growth of this population and of charity institutions to aid the most desperate of them was often justified by citing the needs of Massachusetts' industry.

In the years following the Civil War charity, public and private, became increasingly centralized and efficient, and pauper immigrants were often recipients of this charity. The spirit in which much of it was given caused John Boyle O'Reilly to write of "charity, scrimped and iced, in the name of a

cautious statistical Christ". It also caused Nathan Huggins to write about Protestants against Poverty which discusses the limiting assumptions of charity work in Boston, though it does not allude to its recipients.

The continued growth of industrialism and its attendant dislocations caused some native Bostonians to seek a new society based on universalistic reforms; socialism whether Christian, Marxist, transcendental, or communal, was only one of these alternatives. Immigrants as workers were included in those to whom the appeals were made. Arthur Mann has described the small galaxy of reformers who offered new paths for social redemption to Bostonians in his Yankee Reformers in an Urban Age. Immigrants, like most Bostonians, rejected these appeals: Boston at all levels was a very conservative city. Mann's first two chapters contain valuable vignettes of immigrant leaders John Boyle O'Reilly and Solomon Schindler.

A new optimistic perspective of immigrants as potential Americans in need of assistance from native Americans brought forth the settlement house movement in the private sector of the city, and expanded educational and health services from the city itself. Rather than pinched charity or social panaceas, immigrants were offered in the 1890's practical assistance in resocialization from middleclass Americans who came to live among them in settlement houses. Boston's leading figure was Robert A. Woods who lived at South End House from 1894 until his death thirty years later. His career is told by his wife in her Robert A. Woods, Champion of Democracy; it is put in larger perspective in Allen Davis' Spearheads of Reform; the settlement movement is given a less eulogistic perspective in Sam Warner's valuable preface to Woods' own Zone of Emergence (Section V).

Paperback editions of Mann, Yankee Reformers in an Urban Age (University of Chicago Press) and Davis, Spearheads of Reform (Oxford University Press) were in print at the time of this compilation.

Barbara Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition. Cambridge, 1956.
Commonwealth of Massachusetts, The Problem of Immigration. Boston, 1914.

Whatever the assumptions of the city concerning them, immigrants continued to come to Boston in ever greater numbers until by 1910 70% of the city was composed of first and second generation immigrants. The presence of so large an alien population with their multiplicity of needs caused a slowly growing number of Bostonians to see immigration as beyond burden or opportunity, rather as problem, threat.

During the tensions of the pre-Civil War era in Boston, the Know Nothing Party had not enlisted the social elite of the city to any great degree. By the 1890's, however, the response of the city in opposition to immigration was inspired by Brahmins, intellectuals, and Brahmin intellectuals. The Immigration Restriction League began in the 1890's representing a coalition of the Boston social elite concerned with preserving traditional values and an intellectual elite espousing fashionable theories of racial superiority. This particularly New England kind of immigration restriction agitation is described by Barbara Solomon in her Ancestors and Immigrants.

This elite-intellectual, "proper Bostonian" kind of agitation would not of itself have been able to change the long-standing American tradition of unrestricted immigration had not more widely based concerns also been present. The numbers and variety of

immigrants, coming each year in the millions, caused them to be seen as a problem; growing industrial unrest caused them to be seen as potentially radical. Moved by this dual concern the Massachusetts Legislature created a special commission to study the Problem of Immigration. Headed by Grace Abbott, noted Chicago social worker, the Commission's report contains valuable information on immigrant conditions in Massachusetts, and calls for state action in assisting in that once automatic process of Americanization.

The Department of Immigration and Americanization was established by the Commonwealth and is still in existence, issuing useful annual reports, maintaining offices throughout the state. With the ending of unrestricted immigration in 1924 it has carried out its work in relative obscurity. Discussion of national immigration policy waxed and waned until in 1965 immigration to the United States was allowed without racial or national quotas, to the extent of about 300,000 a year. This has brought increasing numbers of immigrants to Boston, but they have become most visible in a new role as members of minority groups.

Solomon's Ancestors and Immigrants (University of Chicago Press) was available as a paperback as of the date of this pamphlet.

Mass. State Advisory Committee to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Issues of Concern to Puerto Ricans in Boston and Springfield. Boston, 1972.
South End Project Area Committee (SEPAC), Special Housing Committee Report. Boston, 1975.

The civil rights movement, originally black-oriented, has come to include other minorities' concerns in its activities. Expanded governmental agencies, such as the Commission on Civil Rights, have

investigated conditions and initiated action to aid minorities. An example of this is their Issues of Concern to Puerto Ricans. The recency and fluid nature of the Puerto Rican migration to Boston has made it difficult to evolve a common strategy by the various governmental agencies to assist them.

Local activities for self-help in immigrant areas, once usually detached from the decision-making of the city, have become increasingly powerful with the growth of the participatory democracy of the 1960's. Where the city had earlier been able easily to demolish immigrant areas (as for example in Gans' Urban Villagers), pressures from inhabitants forced the city and its Redevelopment Authority (BRA) to cooperate with residents of immigrant, low-income and minority areas such as the South End before making policy decisions. The SEPAC Special Housing Committee had members from the Chinese, Spanish-speaking communities on its staff as well as blacks and middle-class white Bostonians. A particular achievement detailed in their Report was the formation of the Emergency Tenants Coalition (ETC), largely Spanish-speaking, and their sponsorship of housing ventures. Immigrants as minorities, as low-income people, as ethnically identified, now have links to the city bureaucracy, to activists, and to the academic community which enlarge immigrant influence immeasurably.

V Assimilation into Boston

In contrast to the limiting nature of the immigrant experience, assimilation involves the widening participation in the life of the city by these immigrants and by their descendants. This process is not a simple, one-dimensional change that ends with the development of uniformly similar Bostonians. Rather, among individuals and among groups, there are sub-

stantial differences in the rates and patterns of economic advancement, geographic dispersal, retention of ethnic-religious identity, assumption of public roles. Once considered to be a simple and almost unnoticed conclusion to the process of immigration, assimilation is now seen as a complex and visible refashioning of both the immigrants and the established society.

The following works deal with some of the ways in which immigrants and Bostonians adapted to one another; they allude to ways in which immigrants became Americans in Boston.

Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970. Cambridge, 1973.

Jobs are a basic immigrant need. Immigrants' initial lack of marketable skills, of knowledge of job markets, of linguistic ability consigned them to the most limited, the lowest of job opportunities. One measure of immigrant assimilation would be their movement out of these beginning occupations. Such a measurement was made by Stephan Thernstrom in his large scale statistical study of The Other Bostonians. His sample population of 8000 Bostonians included immigrants and their children; thus he was able to measure occupational mobility of immigrants vis à vis native Bostonians, intergenerational rates of mobility among immigrants themselves, and differences in mobility among immigrant groups. Initially disadvantaged when compared to native Bostonians, immigrants did experience increased mobility over time, though as Thernstrom shows, there were significant differences among groups.

The Other Bostonians was in print as a paperback from Harvard University Press at the time of this compilation.

Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, The Zone of Emergence: Observations of Lower-Middle and Upper Working Class Communities in Boston, 1905-1914. Abridged and edited with a preface by Sam Bass Warner, Jr. Cambridge, 1962.

William Marnell, Once Upon a Store: A Biography of the World's First Supermarket. New York, 1971.

Jane Jacobs, Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York, 1961.

That hallmark of immigrant experience, areas of immigrant residence and congregation ("ghettoes") also limited the contact of immigrants with the larger Boston society. Settlement workers like Robert Woods were pleased when immigrants began settling in significant numbers in areas such as Charlestown, South Boston, Dorchester, because they considered these to be areas where immigrants could emerge into a fuller participation in the common life of Boston. In describing these areas of assimilation, these Zones of Emergence, Woods and his associate Albert Kennedy delineate with their detailed concern, everyday life and its larger implications in these areas. Their reaction to life in these areas was mixed: pleased with living conditions so much improved from those in the center of the city, they were nonetheless dismayed at what seemed to be the continued lack of civic cultural participation, any sense of group purposefulness.

These areas with their very parochial concerns have long been important parts of Boston and have been long misunderstood. This parochialism had as its reverse a warmth and a stability which offered much to people who lived in these neighborhoods which were only partially linked to the life of the city. For some of their inhabitants there would be mobility into middleclass occupations and neighborhoods; for others there would be a sense of camaraderie in an ongoing community. William Marnell, who lived in Dor-

chester and attended those quintessential Boston institutions, Public Latin School, Boston College, Harvard University, has written in Once Upon a Store of this supportive way of life, as seen through his very nostalgic eyes. He described in impressionistic fashion the pleasures of the predictable patterns of daily life which had eluded the usually perceptive Woods.

The Italian dispersion from immigrant neighborhoods in the inner city to "zones of emergence" north of Boston has not been traced, but within the North End itself a delightful form of assimilation occured. The North End changed from an isolated, immigrant area portrayed earlier by sociologists into an integral part of the city. The growing prosperity and falling population of the post 1950years caused the North End and its people to approach Boston norms for environment and jobs, even as the area retained its immigrant color and cohesion. The charm and social stability of the area and its people caused imaginative students of the modern American cities like Jane Jacobs to cite the neighborhood in her Death and Life of Great American Cities as an archetype of true urbanity. Bostonians have come to agree heartily with her judgment.

Paperback editions of Woods and Kennedy, The Zone of Emergence (M.I.T. Press), and Jacobs, Death and Life of Great American Cities (Vintage), were available when this pamphlet was written.

Myron Kaufmann, Remember Me to God. Philadelphia, 1957.
Albert I. Gordon, Jews in Suburbia. Boston, 1959.
Morris Axelrod et al, A Community Survey for Long Range Planning: A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston. Boston, 1967.

Assimilation could mean immigrant abandonment not only of a general alien persona but also of the ethnic and/or religious identities which had originally been parts of that persona. For some immigrants the adoption of a new identity was what they had come to America to achieve; for others such a course represented the abandonment of an ancient heritage of special value. For some Boston Jews the attractiveness of the Boston-Yankee-Harvard version of the American identity was very compelling. In his novel Remember Me to God Myron Kaufmann allows his hero to be tempted to adopt this course of assimilation. Rebuffed by native Bostonians and suffering a growing awareness of loss, Richard Amsterdam is able to chart a course toward assimilation that does not involve abandonment of the traditional faith. Although written in 1957 the novel takes place in the early 1940's, for it was during the two decades after the ending of unrestricted immigration in 1924 that much assimilation took place through the gradual diminution of old ethnic-religious loyalties.

After 1945, however, integration into Boston and America began to be increasingly coupled with reassertion of these older loyalties. The suburbanization of these years, with its increasing openness, affluence, and mobility led Jewish leaders to fear a significnat move away from the traditional group consciousness. Albert Gordon surveyed Jews in suburbia, many of whom lived in Boston's suburb of Newton, and concluded that they were maintaining their traditional identity amid the comfort of suburban surroundings, even as they were increasing their participation in that new society.

In order to continue to serve this greater Boston Jewish community now so dispersed from its older city setting, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies commissioned Morris Axelrod to determine areas of new Jewish

settlement together with the social profiles of these Jews. This Axelrod did in his sophisticated Community Survey for Longrange Planning, which is very useful for locating Jewish areas of settlement and assimilation characteristics.

Edwin O'Connor, The Edge of Sadness, Boston, 1961.

Edwin O'Connor viewed the children and grandchildren of immigrant Irish in Boston in the 1950's and detected an Edge of Sadness in their lives even as they became quite assimilated into Boston society. The older generation of the Last Hurrah had established themselves in an indifferent or hostile society with the utmost effort, but their descendants had contented themselves with maintaining the comfortable roles their forbears had established rather than seeking out new areas of concern in the city. For O'Connor absorption should include more of a social role in Boston for the assimilated Irish.

VI Societal Tensions

All societies have tensions which relate to their population. Boston, with its strong traditions and its peoples of various backgrounds, has had its share of tensions originating in this diversity. The integration of so many peoples into the social-economic structure of the city has been an uneven, sometimes a frustrating process even as it has been a constantly ongoing one. The resentments resulting from the need continually to strive for place in Boston have usually gone unrecorded, being considered simply a facet of everyday reality. Sometimes, however, such tensions have become sharp enough to appear in the organized competition of politics or the disorganized confrontation of violence.

George Wilson Pierson, "The Obstinate Concept of New England: A Study in Denudation," New England Quarterly, 28(March, 1955), 3-17.
Lois Merk, "Boston's Historic Public School Crisis," New England Quarterly, 31(June, 1958), 172-189.
Arnold Foster and Benjamin Epstein, Troublemakers. New York, 1952.

By the twentieth century Boston's people were over two-thirds first and second generation immigrants; political power had passed decisively to these immigrants and their children. Although native Bostonians continued to dominate the cultural and financial institutions, their sense of displacement was keen, bitter, and long-lived; it provided the base for some of the underlying current of old stock/new stock separation in the city. As late as 1955 George W. Pierson, noted Yale historian, felt this sense of loss of an ancestral home in his article, "The Obstinate Concept of New England." By this time, however, it was becoming evident to Pierson and other observers that Boston retained significant amounts of Yankee heritage and Yankee leadership.

Animosities which focused on religion have long been present in Boston. Beginning with the nativism of the pre-Civil War era, Protestant-Catholic tension has waxed and waned in the city. The threat of Irish Catholic dominance of the politics of the city in the 1880's inspired a religiously-motivated political movement to deny Catholics public office. Led by some British Canadians who identified with the native American religious traditions, this political animus was effective for more than a decade. Lois Merk describes its inception in her "Boston's Historic Public School Crisis."

Christian-Jewish animosities have formed another facet of religious tension in the city. The elite-

intellectual variant of anti-semitism, visible in the years at the turn of the century, has been described in Ancestors and Immigrants by Barbara Solomon. When it has involved other immigrant groups rather than a native elite, anti-semitism has occurred in the form of street violence, often Irish led. A virulent example, related to national and foreign tensions, connected with the movement of Fr. Coughlin, occurred in the late 1930's. A lesser instance of post-war anti-semitic street violence is detailed by Forster and Epstein in the Troublemakers.

William F. Whyte, "Race Conflicts in the North End of Boston," New England Quarterly, 12(December, 1939), 623-642.

Francis Russell, "The Coming of the Jews," Antioch Review, 15(March, 1955), 19-38.

Yona Ginsburg, Jews in a Changing Neighborhood: The Study of Mattapan. New York, 1975.

The shifting of ethnic dominance in particular areas considered as "belonging" to a group has often been a source of tension in Boston. When William F. Whyte was living in the North End in the late 1930's he became aware of the violent history of Irish-Italian tensions centering for several decades on the North End. Originating in the changing of populations at the turn of the century, the animosity had continued in an increasingly stylized form decades later. Whyte describes this in his article "Race Conflicts in the North End." Only time has seemed to mellow the feud.

Mattapan is on the suburban fringe of the city rather than in the inner core, but it too has experienced this kind of tension. Francis Russell lived there in the years before 1920 when it had been a predominantly Yankee area, and witnessed its transformation into a large Jewish zone of emergence. In his informal article "The Coming of the Jews" he

describes the native distaste with the impending ethnic change; their response was to move out, en masse. (A related memory is his sense of cultural shock at confronting immigrant Jews at Latin School, desperately eager to escape the limitation of the ghetto through education. Here again he describes the native recoil.)

This same Mattapan became the focus, a half century later, for still another awkward shift of population when the last of the old Jewish inhabitants confronted blacks moving into the area from their former inner city homes. Many of the older Jews interviewed by Yona Ginsburg in her Jews in a Changing Neighborhood experienced the distress which is so common a reaction to this kind of group change.

The "Boston: An Urban Community"
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by a grant from the National
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The Boston Public Library
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Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to The Present

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Lynn Weiner
with the assistance of
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INTRODUCTION

The recent interest in social history, particularly in the study of ordinary persons' lives, has been accompanied by the emergence of the "history of the family" as a vital area of interest. By examining the structures and functions of families, one can gain deeper insight into the organization of society. The subject of family history is particularly enhanced by an interdisciplinary approach. In the Learning Library Program sequence on "Family Life in Boston: from Colonial Times to the Present," taught by Nancy F. Cott, Ph.D., works from the disciplines of history, sociology, anthropology, and literature were recommended, with a particular emphasis on materials linked to the Boston area.

Antin, Mary. The Promised Land. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1912. xv, 373 (1) p.

This colorful autobiography centers on Antin's childhood in Polotzk, Russia, and her subsequent emigration to Boston in 1894. The book, enormously popular in its time, graphically depicts the process of Americanization in the city. Antin skillfully evokes the tenor of life in both the old world and the new, and suggests that the fulfillment of the American dream is possible in the latter. She traces the disintegration of her family life in Boston's slums, and interprets the breakdown as an inevitable factor in the Americanization process. This fine example of immigrant literature is especially attuned to family structure and change. See also Antin's From Plotsk to Boston (Boston, Clarke, 1899), an account of her experiences written when she was eleven years old.

Paperback edition: Houghton, Mifflin, 1969.

Aries, Phillipe. Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life. New York, Knopf, 1962. 447 p.

Aries examines the development of ideas about the nature of the family and the nature of childhood from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century in Europe. Using works of art, diaries, and the history of education and of games in a rich

interweaving of evidence, Aries suggests that medieval Europeans perceived children as small adults. From the seventeenth century to the modern era, however, the concept of childhood as a distinct phase of life evolved, and with this change appeared the modern concept of the family.

Paperback edition: Random House

Brown, Richard D. "Two Baltic Families Who Came to America: The Jacobsons and the Kruskals, 1870-1970," American Jewish Archives, 24 (April, 1972), pp. 39-93.

Haley, Alex. "My Furthest Back Person-- the African," New York Times Magazine, July 16, 1972, pp. 12-16.

In these two articles the authors trace their own family histories using oral sources. Brown traces the history of his mother's family from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. He discusses issues of assimilation which account for the rapid loss of the centuries-old tradition of Judaism once his ancestors arrived in America. He focuses on the interplay between social forces and individual circumstances and concludes by noting the loss of functions which the family institution has suffered over time. In a different and fascinating example of a specific family history relying on both written and oral sources, Haley traces his forebears back over ten generations. Using as a starting point his grandmother's tales, faithfully transmitted from gener-

ation to generation, he locates the clan in Africa from which his father's family originated. He meets the griot-- the clan historian-- in Gambia, and then traces the very slave ship that had brought his forebear to America in the eighteenth century. Haley is working on a book, Roots, which will more fully relate his discoveries and he has established the Kinte Foundation, which is concerned with black genealogical research.

Demos, John. "The American Family in Past Time," American Scholar, 43 (Summer, 1974), pp. 422-446.

In a useful introduction to family history, Demos discusses some of the most interesting issues in the field: sex roles, child-rearing, privacy, the functions the family performs for its members and for the society at large, and how these have altered over time.

Demos, John. A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970. xvi, 201 p.

This study of seventeenth century social life examines the interaction of values, institutions, and the environment. Demos presents data about the size, fertility, and mortality of the colonial family, and probes their material culture by examining their clothing, housing, and furniture.

He speculates about the possible family roles and relationships. A Little Commonwealth provides a fine impressionistic view of colonial family life drawn from the scant surviving evidence, and enriched by the use of theoretical models from anthropology and Eriksonian ego psychology.

Paperback edition: Oxford University Press

ns, Herbert. The Urban Villagers: Groups and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans. New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1962. xvi, 367 p.

Using the technique of participant-observation, Gans studies the now defunct West End neighborhood of Boston, particularly the native-born Americans of Italian parentage. He examines the neighborhood just before the onset of "urban renewal," when its residents were widely dispersed. Gans comments on the structures of family, peer group, community, and the subcultures of the working class. He also evaluates the results of the urban redevelopment plan under the Federal renewal program.

Paperback edition: Free Press of Glencoe

Gordon, Michael, comp. The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1973. xv, 428 p.

Rabb, Theodore K. and Rotberg, Robert I., eds. The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays. New York, Harper and Row, 1973. 235 p.

Skolnick, Arlene S. and Skolnick, Jerome H., eds. Family in Transition: Rethinking Marriage, Sexuality, Child Rearing, and Family Organization. Boston, Little, Brown, 1971. xiii, 542 p.

Recent interest in the history of the family has not yet spawned many general interpretive works, but it has engendered a number of anthologies on pertinent themes. Gordon's collection of essays focuses on ethnicity, growing up, sex roles, sexuality, and demographic trends in history. He includes both European and American studies in his anthology, which is unified by the concept of modernization. Rabb and Rotberg's collection was originally published as an issue of the Journal of Interdisciplinary History in 1971. The Spring, 1975 edition of this journal contains a second collection of articles on American and European family themes. The Skolnick and Skolnick volume, in contrast to the other two, primarily analyzes contemporary family issues. The editors' purpose in this undertaking is to challenge conventional views about

the ideology of the nuclear family. Essays center on conceptions of the family, and the politics of sex, marriage, child rearing, household, and life style.

Paperback editions: Gordon, St. Martin's Press; Rabb and Rotberg, Harper and Row; Skolnick and Skolnick, Little Brown.

Laslett, Peter. The World We Have Lost. New York, Scribners, 1966. xvi, 280 p.

This innovative work, sponsored by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, presents a sociological history of seventeenth-century England. Laslett uses demographic evidence and techniques to suggest that the household was the major nexus of change and continuity during the now lost world of the pre-industrial era.

Paperback edition: Scribners.

Marquand, John. The Late George Apley: A Novel in the Form of a Memoir. Boston, Little, Brown, 1937. vi, 354 p.

Marquand's delightful portrait of that fictional proper Bostonian, George William Apley, outlines not only the vicissitudes of an individual life, but also the larger dimensions of changing morals and manners. The novel encompasses Apley's history between 1866 and 1933: his childhood, marriage, adulthood, and family

background. Apley's statement, "I am the sort of man I am, because environment prevented my being anything else," underlines his struggles to cope with both his social responsibilities and the world outside his circumscribed sphere. Marquand's novel is a fine example of a literary work illuminating specific structures and changes in family history.

Paperback edition: Pocketbooks.

Morgan, Edmund S. The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth Century New England. Boston, Trustees of the Public Library, 1944. 118 p. Revised edition: New York, Harper and Row, 1965.

Using literary sources, Morgan delineates the Puritan domestic order which determined a hierarchical structure of society. He examines the relationships of husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and servants as components of this order. Morgan's study of the family encompasses topics on marriage, sexuality, education, labor, and religion.

Paperback edition: Harper and Row.

Sedgwick, Catherine Maria. Home. Boston, J. Munroe, 1835. 158 p.

Popular literature such as Home provides us with a glimpse into nineteenth-century

expectations and prescriptions for middle-class family life. Catherine Sedgwick's novel, one of a series entitled Scenes and Characters Illustrating Christian Truth, is an example of the prescriptive domestic literature which blossomed during the antebellum era. By relating the often melodramatic history of the Barclay family, Sedgwick attempts to describe the path to happiness. She praises the virtues of home education, religion, decorum, and charity, and warns against the perils of business speculation, vanity, and drunkenness. Throughout the novel, she stresses her belief that character depends upon its surroundings-- and that the formation of good character depends especially upon virtuous family life.

Staples, Robert, ed. The Black Family: Essays and Studies. Belmont, California, Wadsworth, 1970 (paperback ed. only). 393 p.

Willie, Charles V., ed. The Family Life of Black People. Columbus, Ohio, Merrill, 1970 (paperback ed. only). x, 341 p.

There has been no major social-historical study of the black family since the publication of E. Franklin Frazier's classic work, The Negro Family in the United States in 1939. These two anthologies, which update Frazier's conclusions, exemplify recent scholarship stimulated in part by Daniel Moynihan's controversial 1965 report on the weakness

of the black family. Staples' collection on the social organization of the black family contains material on history and historiography, the debate over Moynihan's assertions, sexual patterns and roles, and family processes and problems. Willie's book approaches the black family "as an integrative, adaptive, functional system rather than as a social problem or as an illustration of deviance," and focuses on issues of stability and instability. Field studies in this collection examine demographic trends, work, mobility, marital status, and family structures. For a monograph on the subject see Andrew Billingsly's Black Families in White America (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1968).

Wilmot, Peter, and Young, Michael. The Symmetrical Family. New York, Pantheon, 1973.

The authors explore the linkages between work, leisure, technology, and family relations in this provocative study. Employing a methodological mix of history and sociology, they suggest that shifts in family structure are related to changes in technology. They argue that families have evolved from the preindustrial unit of production to the symmetrical unit of consumption-- where sex roles are less segregated than ever before. Wilmot and Young further outline a principle of "stratified diffusion" to account for the difference in class behavior when the middle class functions as a cultural vanguard.

Wishy, Bernard. The Child and the Republic: The Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967. x, 205 p.

The child rearing proposals of middle-class writers during the period 1830-1900 are the subject of this study of child nurture. Wishy draws on popular literature, such as the Horatio Alger novels, as well as more conventional sources. By examining children, he analyzes as well larger issues of American national character, religion, and education.

Paperback edition: University of Pennsylvania Press.

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"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

"Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

"Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University. September 14 - November 2, 1976.

"After Strange Fruit: Changing Literary Taste in Post-World-War-II Boston" with P. Albert Duhamel, Professor of English, Boston College. September 16 - November 4, 1976.

"Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City" with Robert Hollister, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning, M.I.T., September 18 - November 6, 1976.

"Growth and Development in the Boston Metropolis: The Union of Government and Economics-A Marriage of Convenience" with Donald Levitan, Professor of Public Administration, Suffolk University. November 16, 1976 - January 18, 1977.

"From the Psalm Book to the Symphony: Music in the Culture of Boston" with John Swan, Lecturer in English, Tufts University. November 18, 1976 - January 27, 1977.

"The Way We Really Live: Social Change in Metropolitan Boston, Since 1920" with Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Professor of History and Social Science, Boston University. February 3 - March 24, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

Never before in the history of mankind have so many people gathered into one human settlement as they do in today's metropolis. Boston in 1920 was a settlement of four millions, today a place of six and a half millions.

Never before in human settlements has work been so easy, and a population so wealthy. Yet never before has such a large proportion of a city's inhabitants worked for wages outside of their homes. Never have so many women ventured so far beyond their homes, and never have humans so easily and so consciously limited the number of their offspring.

Unlike earlier cities our metropolis is almost without farms; it is uniquely a place of machines. Yet trees canopy four-fifths of the land.

Never before have city dwellers been subject to such a sustained barrage of messages from strangers, yet most Bostonians can and do retreat into a privacy which formerly was the privilege of the wealthiest few.

No one of us can experience our metropolis in its entirety. It is too large (9,925 sq. miles) and too populous. Our frequent paths to work, shopping, visiting, and vacations give us a false sense of familiarity. Each one of us knows a Boston, or several Bostons, very well, but none of us knows metropolitan Boston. Indeed, our very familiarity with part of the settlement plays us false because it screens from us many of the behaviors and events which bound our lives.

To make the familiar strange is thus one important goal of this course. Our device will be to cast some of the most basic issues of the commonplace life into the metropolitan mould. The subjects to be taken up are the family, jobs, nature, and the symbolic climate. The hope is to introduce people into the art of metropolitan watching; to share some of the pleasures which can be found in looking through such special glasses at the way we really live.

THE DEFINITION OF METROPOLITAN BOSTON

The most meaningful definition of a human settlement comes from answering the question of who interacts with whom. Who work together, who buy and sell to each other, who visit together? A definition which defines a human settlement in terms of who work together has been discovered to capture most of the rest of urban dwellers' social life. Thus, metropolitan Boston can be defined as the Boston of commuters. Geographers call such a settlement the Daily Urban System. Such boundaries of the daily journeys to work contain within them not only the job life, but shopping habits, visiting routes, and even the circulation of metropolitan newspapers and the listenership of radio and television stations.

For convenience of measurement the commuting patterns of the nation are counted by counties. For Boston in 1960 and 1970 the counties stretch west to include Worcester County, south to encompass all of Rhode Island, and north in New Hampshire beyond Concord to Carroll County. Altogether our human settlement is a social and economic system of twenty counties and three states. So defined it is one of 171 such metropolitan areas in the continental United States. Its six and a half million inhabitants make it fifth most populous, behind New York (18,410,000),

Los Angeles (10,586,000), Chicago (8,260,000), and Philadelphia (7,427,000). This huge settlement will be the focus of our inquiries, and whenever possible data will be given for the metropolis as a whole and for its constituent counties. Those interested in the possibilities of this system of human accounting should consult: U.S. Department of Commerce, Regional Economic Analysis Division, "The BEA Economic Areas: Structural Changes and Growth, 1950-73," Survey of Current Business, 55 (November, 1975), 24-25, and Sam Bass Warner, Jr. and Sylvia Fleisch, "The Past of Today's Present, A Social History of Metropolitan America 1960-1860," Journal of Urban History 3:1 (November, 1976), 3-118.

FAMILIES

Individuals make no more important decision in their lifetime than whether to marry, when to marry, who to marry, when to have children, and how many children to have. Such decisions, more than any others, determine one's social and economic life. In the aggregate these millions of individual choices alter the metropolis. They influence wage levels, cause some places to grow, others to languish, and they create all manner of fluctuations in demands for goods and services. The family is thus an important factor in the building of the metropolis as well as being strongly influenced by the conditions of the metropolis itself. During the past half century Bostonians have both hurried to the altar and postponed marriage, they have at times limited, and other times expanded their families. Within the family itself roles have changed a great deal as well.

An English book, based on a survey and history of metropolitan London, stresses changes in the economy as the cause of alternations in modern family

life. Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family (London, 1972, New York, Pantheon, 1974), read especially chapters 1-3. An American survey, Peter Gabriel Filene, Him/Her Self, Sex Roles in Modern America (New York, Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1974), Part II, sees alterations in family life from the perspective of changes in attitudes.

While reading these books consider your own family decisions to marry or to stay single, to have children, and how many. Did your decisions differ from your parents' or those of your friends? Which family decisions are made by husband or wife? Can any be said to be made jointly? Can you say why you made each decision? Can you think why so many Bostonians of whatever race or religion made similar decisions at similar times?

For further reading the Boston Public Library Staff and Lynn Weiner have prepared a useful bibliography: Boston: An Urban Community, Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present (Boston Public Library, 1976).

JOBS

Most of us must take the economy as we find it. We seek places among those which are offered and neither hope nor expect to exercise any control over even our small corner of the metropolitan economy. Our job power is only the power to move. We stay at a job, or go to another. We find a place within the metropolis, or we leave.

This pervasive sence of powerlessness encourages a retreat into the posture of ignorance. The economy, and economic policy, are the property of businessmen, union leaders, government officials, and professional economists. Yet no aspect of the metro-

polis is better known, more thoroughly and continuously studied, and more effectively simplified by theory than the economy. We know a great deal more about the workings of the Boston economy than we do about the behavior of families, the interactions of the metropolitan ecologies, or the effects upon human life of the waves of media messages which now wash over us.

Common sense and everyday experience bring out the most important questions. The memories of our older citizens tell us that we are living in a much richer place than the Boston of half a century ago. A drive from downtown Boston through Roxbury to Milton and down to New Bedford reveals both the personal and geographical distribution of that wealth. Though all are richer today than their counterparts in 1920, the poor, the middling, and the wealthy have the same relative shares of the region's income as they had fifty years ago. The distribution of income has not changed. The pie is bigger, but it's sliced the same way. Despite suburbanization, the geographic places of the poor, the middling, and the wealthy are also the same. Today, as in 1920, the metropolis has a core of poverty, a ring of affluence, and a very large periphery of low wage jobs and low incomes. Only the place names have been changed through suburbanization. The fact that we never come across miles of farms, a steel mill, a coal mine, or an oil derrick tells us that we must prosper by our labor alone, not by harvesting natural resources. Finally, the columns of state and federal government news in every day's newspaper tell us, ours is a public economy, not a private one. Whoever owns what, we depend, to a degree unthinkable fifty years ago, on government for both production and consumption.

Many of the professional economist's questions about the functioning of a metropolitan economy can

be asked of individual job experience. In your line of work are people paid the same throughout the metropolitan region? Could you make much better money if you left for some other part of the United States? Do you ever think of taking up some different line of work? Does your firm, office, store, university, or hospital do the same things it did ten or twenty years ago? How many of your firm's customers and suppliers come from the metropolitan region, how many from beyond? Did your employer hire, fire, or keep on the same number of people during the recession of the past three years?

Let us concentrate on shifts in the location of jobs, workers, and earnings since 1920. To place that material in the relevant setting of Boston's role in the national economy one should consult Robert W. Eisenmenger, The Dynamics of Growth in New England's Economy (Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1967), especially chapters 2 and 8. Those interested in the theory which lies behind Eisenmenger's analysis can find it in Paul A. Samuelson, "International Trade and the Equalization of Factor Prices," The Economic Journal, 58 (June, 1948), 163-184.

The collapse of the New England economy after World War I spurred economists to diagnose the region's ills and to prescribe for its cure. A very useful guide to these works was prepared on the occasion of the launching of yet another study: New England Economic Research Foundation, Review of Regional Economic Research and Planning on New England (U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1967), especially Everett J. Burt, Jr., "Task Force Report A, A Survey of Research on the Population, Labor Force, Employment, Income, and Education in New England."

Taken as a group these studies compose a history of the metropolitan economy since 1920. What follows is a selection arranged in chronological order. The studies thus show both the concerns of their times and the fashionable remedies of their day.

The series begins with very detailed descriptive studies which take up everything from bargain basement retailing to the shortage of hydroelectric power. Of particular interest is the estimate of the distribution of personal income by county based on the 1926 income tax returns. This last appears in the Commercial Structure volume of Charles E. Artman, Commercial Structure of New England (U.S. Department of Commerce, Domestic Commerce Series #26, Washington, 1929), and its companion volume, Charles E. Artman, Industrial Structure of New England (U.S. Department of Commerce, Domestic Commerce Series #28, Washington, 1930).

American Geographical Society, New England's Prospect: 1933 (Special Publication #16, New York, 1933). This volume opens what has become a classic division among those prescribing for the improvement of New England's economy. One side argues for imitation of successes in high technology economies which have appeared elsewhere in the United States. In these years the call was for mass production industries, like the automobile, argued by Edward A. Filene. The other side has always stressed concentration on specialized products which require high technical quality for their execution, much skilled labor, and hopefully little competition from other regions. Here James Truslow Adams argues from New England's long tradition of success in making a wide range of high quality products.

Three studies, much more advanced in economic reasoning than their predecessors, issued forth from the Post-World-War-II collapse of the New Eng-

land economy. These were the years of the final demise of New England textiles and heavy blows to the shoe trade. They precede the region's addiction to warfare and armaments. Council of Economic Advisers, Committee on the New England Economy, The New England Economy (Washington, July, 1951), calls for an integrated steel mill and action to reduce electricity costs. Seymour E. Harris, The Economics of New England, A Case Study of an Older Area (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1952). Harris was a member of the Council and its study groups. He lays more stress than they on the drying up of New England's sources of cheap immigrant labor. Arthur A. Bright, Jr. and George H. Ellis, eds., The Economic State of New England (Committee on New England of the National Planning Association, New Haven, Conn., 1954, Reprinted in 2 volumes in 1970). An excellent descriptive summary. It takes the diversification side of the classic argument. Detailed research papers for each chapter exist in the library of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

R. C. Estall, New England, A Study in Industrial Adjustment (New York, Praeger, 1966), shows the effects of the Cold War on the post-1945 economy. It has a geographic focus which indicates what the Boston metropolis gained and what it lost.

All the above studies concentrate on the role of manufacturing as the key to the region's prosperity. It has become more and more clear, however, that government and services, activities like health care, education, and business consulting, are the fastest growing activities in the region. A new debate has thus issued forth, a debate between those who see manufactures as still the root of prosperity and those who call for closer attention to services and government. The new point of view appears in: Joint Commission on Federal Base Conversion, Service

Sector Growth: Its Implications for the Massachusetts Economy and Federal Base Redevelopment (Harbridge House, Inc. for the Commonwealth of Mass., Boston, April, 1975). Bennett Harrison, The Economic Development of Massachusetts (Report to the Joint Committee on Commerce and Labor, Mass. State Legislature, Boston, November, 1974). Chapter 2 outlines the current myths widely held by businessmen and politicians about the state's economy. Neither group seems to attend to the contents of the bibliography given above.

NATURE

Our recent public concern for the condition of plants, animals, and birds in the city wears two aspects. One manifests itself in public health measures to clean up the water and air, the other purposes a new style of urban living; it urges city dwellers to change their attitude toward the natural life which surrounds them in the metropolis. Both have their immediate origins in the writings of Rachel Carson.

The public health attack was best presented in her Silent Spring, first published in 1962. In that book she built her case against the use of DDT by employing the concept of a food chain in which the insecticide which killed the bugs became a danger to human life by being concentrated in a succession of organisms, the last one of which might be man. Through the concepts of the food chain and the ecologies of ponds and farms she was able to logically connect dangers to the health of humans with threats to bird and fish life.

Immense difficulties prevent us from making many such logical links between the condition of plants,

animals, and birds in the metropolis and the health of its residents. Most of Boston's farms are in the South, Midwest, and Pacific coast. The sheer size of the metropolis, the multiplicity of its ecologies, and the seeming infinity of its intakes and outputs make reasoning about metropolitan biologic interactions very difficult. For instance, although statistics show urban dwellers suffer a higher incidence of cancer than suburbanites and country dwellers, no one can estimate the degree to which these differences stem from air pollution, cigarette smoking, industrial hazards, or factors as yet completely undetected. The comparative lack of research into such ecological questions (by contrast to the sustained efforts in economic research) continues our ignorance.

Yet environmental undertakings go forward, and public programs have multiplied since Ms. Carson's book. The work proceeds according to the logic of previously successful public health campaigns. By this reasoning if one discovers an unusually high incidence of disease and death in a place one undertakes to clean up its environment. By making sure that the water is fresh, the air pure, the streets and houses clean, the factories safe, and the food uncontaminated, one hopes to have broken the chains causing disease and death, even though those chains may be unknown. Such a public health strategy has worked well in the past. Amasa B. Ford, Urban Health in America (New York, Oxford, 1976) has written a good survey of the current metropolitan health situation and its possible remedies.

It is doubtful if sewers, water purification, and emission controls would have found their present levels of public support had they depended solely on health arguments. A cultural movement urging city dwellers to enter into new relationships with nature

has captured the public imagination and given energy to many projects in addition to pipes and smoke collectors. Ms. Carson's nature writings, especially the beautiful The Sea Around Us (1951), stimulated the revival of interest in nature observation and the conservation of wild spaces. For those interested in an intellectual history, Donald Fleming has written a brilliant account, "The Roots of the New Conservation Movement," Perspectives in American History, 6 (1972), 7-91.

This cultural movement demands as its ultimate goal the conscious management of all the land within the metropolis so that native wild ecologies, gardened and farmed spaces, and totally urbanized areas can coexist for the enjoyment and for the safety of the metropolitan human population. The control of land is the central political action of the movement. Since land is a scarce resource in a metropolis, such actions inevitably bring high temperature politics to city, town, state, and federal governments. Given the unequal distribution of income among city dwellers, this land politics necessarily engenders class conflicts. Understanding will be aided by a review of Boston's metropolitan land politics and policies since the 1920's. As a background to this history the following are useful: Seymour I. Toll, The Zoned American (New York, 1969), Bureau of Regional Planning, Mass. Department of Community Affairs, Enabling Legislation for Planning and Zoning, Study Report No. 2, Municipal Planning and Subdivision (Boston, February, 1973); Conference on Environmental Quality and Social Justice, Woodstock, Illinois, 1972, Environmental Quality and Social Justice in Urban America (James Noel Smith, ed., Washington, 1974), especially the article by Peter Marcuse, "Conservation for Whom?", pp. 17-36.

Given the imperfect state of our knowledge no authoritative survey of changes in the Boston metro-

politan ecology is possible. What can be offered is a series of books and articles by scientists and observers of nature which open up the topic and offer the reader the enjoyments of a heightened consciousness of the world of metropolitan nature in which he lives.

In considering the topic of metropolitan nature a number of questions may be useful. One might ask oneself why anyone should swim in the lower Charles River? Is the condition of the plants, animals and birds in your neighborhood any kind of measure of human health in that neighborhood? How many acres of wild land do you and your family or friends use in a year? Is it beach, forest, wetland, open fields? Is there a special class, racial and age composition to the Crane's Beach crowd on a hot Sunday? Are the open spaces of the metropolis merely another amenity, like the lawns in the suburbs? If Boston's 10,000 square miles of metropolitan land were all like Beacon Hill, what sort of human impoverishment would it be?

The best introductory book setting forth how ecological scientists see the city today is, Thomas R. Detwyler and Melvin G. Marcus, Urbanization and the Environment (Scituate, Mass., Duxbury Press, 1972), or one might prefer to start with a bit more popular book: John Rublowsky, Nature in the City (New York, Basic Books, 1967). Eugene P. Odum, "The Strategy of Ecosystem Development," Science 164 (April 18, 1969), 262-270, has written an excellent article setting forth the theory of ecosystems in language which a patient layman can understand. The best reference to the natural history literature which an amateur might want to consult is: Don Gill and Penelope Bonnett, Nature in the Urban Landscape, A Study of City Ecosystems (Baltimore, 1973).

Because the Boston metropolis is like all modern metropolises, so large, and because it is so often experienced in automobile trips, one might wish to get a general overview of its geology and ecological sub-areas. There are several excellent guides: Neil Jorgensen, A Guide to New England's Landscape (Barre, Mass., Barre, 1971); and, Betty Flanders Thomson, The Changing Face of New England (New York, Macmillan, 1958). Clifford A. Kaye, The Geology and Early History of the Boston Area of Massachusetts, A Bicentennial Approach (Geological Survey Bulletin #1476, Washington, G. P.O., 1976) is a charming geology lesson. Also Michael Conzen and George K. Lewis have recently written an excellent Boston geography which combines the physical, social and economic character of the inner metropolis: Boston: A Geographical Portrait (Cambridge, Ballinger, 1976). Finally, the Boston Redevelopment Authority has just published an excellent illustrated plan for the city's open spaces; Boston's Urban Wilds (Boston, September, 1976).

Trees and Plants

Nancy M. Page and Richard W. Weaver, Jr., Wild Plants in the City (New York, 1975). A wonderful illustrated guidebook showing Boston's weeds in the vacant lots and ecological niches of the city. Thomas S. Elias and Howard S. Irwin. "Urban Trees." Scientific American 235:5 (November, 1976) pp. 110-118. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Plants/People/ and Environmental Quality (Gary O. Robinette, ed., Washington, G. P.O., 1972). James A. Schmid, Urban Vegetation, A Review and Chicago Case Study (University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, Research Paper #161, Chicago, 1975).

Animals

A. M. Beck, The Ecology of Stray Dogs (Baltimore, 1973). William B. Jackson, "Food Habits of Baltimore, Maryland, Cats in Relation to Rat Populations," Journal of Mammology, 32 (November, 1951), 458-461. Darrell L. Cauley and James R. Schinner, "The Cincinnati Raccoons," Natural History 82 (November, 1973), 58-60, and Melvin B. Hathaway, "Ecology of City Squirrels," same issue of Natural History, pp. 61-62.

Birds

Aelred D. Gets, "The New Town Bird Quadrille," Natural History 83 (June/July, 1974), 54-60. Charles F. Walcott, "Changes in Bird Life in Cambridge, Mass. from 1860 to 1964," Auk 91 (January, 1974), 151-160. Terry Gompertz, "Some Observations on the Feral Pidgeon in London," Bird Study 4 (1957), 2-13. D. Summers-Smith, The House Sparrow (London, 1963). For those who are not now urban birdwatchers, but who would like to be, the Government Bookstore in the basement of the Kennedy Center sells a pamphlet which should do for one's backyard: Bob Hines and Peter A. Anastasi, Fifty Birds of Town and City (Washington, 1973).

The best beginning field guide which gives all the birds resident in and visiting the metropolitan region is: Chandler S. Robbins, Bertel Bruun, and Herbert S. Zim, Birds of North America (New York, 1966).

Water

Mass. Division of Water Resources, Groundwater and Groundwater Law in Massachusetts (Boston, 1976); New England River Basins Commission, Report of the Southeastern New England Study (Boston, December, 1975), Summary, Regional Report, and detailed volumes, especially Boston Metropolitan Planning Area Report.

SYMBOLIC CLIMATE

Of all the oddities of our metropolitan existence none is more strange than the imbalance between talkers and listeners. In our human settlement, unlike all before it, few speak, and many listen.

The essence of a city is, and always has been, communications. The first cities in history were market places where people periodically came to exchange goods and gossip. The commercial, political, and social advantage of being near many people gave rise to the crowding of houses about the market. Even such novelties as the telephone and the automobile continue such patterns of a central density of traffic. The higher wage levels of the inner ring of Boston counties reflect the greater ease and greater intensity of communications in these areas as opposed to the outer, low wage, periphery.

The oddity of our human settlement comes thus, not from automobiles and telephones, but from a different quarter: the media. Never have humans lived within such an immense cloud of one-way messages. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television blanket the metropolis with a ceaseless flow of commercial and governmental messages. Just as we are born and die in sunshine and rain, so we live out our lives in a climate of one-way messages. In our metropolis a few speak and many listen, or make an effort not to listen.

The consequences for human life of such an environment are imperfectly understood. Unlike the economy, or even the natural environment, little theory and only fragmented data exist. The complacent see the media climate as insignificant, a harmless filling of the empty spaces of people's time with music, stories, and sports, a mere bringing into

the home of entertainments formerly confined to the city's theaters, taverns, and stadia. The anxious see the media as an engine of commercial and government fashions which corrodes the traditional values of the society, and melts the social glue which sustains our humanity.

Consider for a moment the following correlation. Historically the rise in volume of media messages and the rise of modern metropolitan settlement have accompanied the extraordinary ability of the modern state to mobilize its population for war. In our own country the symbolic climate has turned lethal with increasing frequency; 1918-19 (World War I), 1941-45 (World War II), 1950-53 (Korean War), 1965-73 (Vietnam War). Formerly in the United States it was impossible to get so many Americans to agree to head in any one direction. In recent years too, groups within the society have attempted direct attacks on the symbolic climate which they contend is destructive to their existence. Blacks and women have been at the forefront of such campaigns.

The minor commercial effects of the symbolic climate are most continuously monitored and best known. Scholars have moved beyond immediate market research, the question of what it takes to get someone to shift from buying TIDE to buying ALL, to questions of how the media change more significant behavior. The best opinion today suggests a two-stage process whereby the values and attitudes of small groups interact with the suggestions of the media.

For example, for a doctor to change his method of treatment, or for a farmer to adopt a new practice, first the media suggest and then the listener or reader seeks the opinion of his friends and colleagues. If the receiver of the media suggestion receives validation and approval from his group, he

will be willing to change his behavior. Otherwise, he will not. Studies have shown that voting behavior follows the same model. This scholarly literature appears in Lewis A. Dexter and David Manning White, People, Society, and Mass Communications (New York, 1964), see especially Elihu Katz, "Communications Research and the Image of Society: the Convergence of Two Traditions," pp. 110-121. Thus, current research postulates some very complicated processes whereby the media suggest and small groups in society accept or reject these suggestions. Note that this construct does not account for what the media suggests, or why some suggestions, like war, seem to travel more easily through the system than others.

The most useful book I have found which places the general questions of communications into perspective of modern urban history is Lewis Mumford, The Pentagon of Power (New York, 1970), also published as volume two of his The Myth of the Machine, Technics and Human Development (New York, 1967). There is also a controversy between those who see the current symbolic climate to be the consequence of censorship and manipulation, Herbert I. Schiller, The Mind Managers (Boston, 1973) and those who see its banality as a consequence of a failure of artistic imagination, Robert Scholes, Structural Fabulation (Notre Dame, 1975).

In thinking generally about the symbolic climate in which you live it might be well to ask yourself a few questions. To what extent do the advertisements, stories, and messages coming toward you support your own values and attitudes? To what extent do they challenge them? Are the heroes and heroines of the media stories, advertisements, and news like you in values and attitudes, but different from you only in their wealth, power, and glamor? Or, are these heroes and heroines like you in appearance and style,

but different from you in their values and attitudes?

The topic is immense and it would be impossible briefly to cover many dimensions of such a subject. We can, however, make a start with one dimension, and thereby enjoy the fruits of seeing our metropolitan life in still another way. The subject of the media is like the economy in that it concerns a metropolitan region set in a national system. Much of our symbolic climate, like our economy, has its origins outside the Boston metropolis. We listen to, read, watch, and are bombarded with national messages. Since we share these in common they make a good place to begin our observations.

Specifically, we might examine the changing advertisements and fiction of mass national magazines from the twenties to the present. The similarities and differences between the fiction and the ads will be watched. Our general question should be: What sort of a life are the mass magazines portraying as modern metropolitan life? Special attention should be paid to the differences in the presentation of men's and women's roles.

Since so many media messages are fragments, only partially developed stories, slight, and even contradictory suggestions, some yardstick is required against which to hold the material. We need to measure differences among stories, and changes since 1920. The measure should be a tried one: we can hold one story against another. The yardstick might be a novel which by common consent is thought to represent an accurate portrait of some aspects of twentieth century metropolitan life: F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby (1925).

In considering Fitzgerald's story one might begin by asking the same sort of questions one asks of

any city. What is the physical and social shape of Fitzgerald's New York? How do the characters make their money? What are the men's and women's roles? What do rich people and what do ordinary people do? What do they seek in life? More specifically, what does Gatsby seek in Daisy Buchanan? Why is Tom Buchanan reading kinky racist literature? What is the basis upon which Nick Carroway builds his moral criticism of the characters he meets in New York?

The "Boston: An Urban Community"
Program is made possible
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The Boston Public Library
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Boston An Urban Community

From Common School to Magnet School: A History of Schooling in Boston

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
James Fraser, Henry Allen
& Sam Barnes
with the assistance of
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Library Staff

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Boston Public Library, 1977

FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 16 - May 25, 1976.

"Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

"Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University, September 14 - November 2, 1976.

"After Strange Fruit: Changing Literary Taste in Post-World-War-II Boston" with P. Albert Duhamel, Professor of English, Boston College, September 16 - November 4, 1976.

"Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City" with Robert Hollister, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning, M.I.T. September 18 - November 6, 1976.

"Growth and Development in the Boston Metropolis: The Union of Government and Economics--A Marriage of Convenience" with Donald Levitan, Professor of Public Administration, Suffolk University. November 16, 1976-January 18, 1977.

"From the Psalm Book to the Symphony: Music in the Culture of Boston" with John Swan, Lecturer in English, Tufts University. November 18, 1976 - January 27, 1977.

"The Way We Really Live: Social Change in Metropolitan Boston, Since 1920" with Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Professor of History and Social Science, Boston University. February 3 - March 24, 1977.

"From Common School to Magnet School: A History of Schooling in Boston from the Revolution to the Present" with James Fraser, Ph.D., Columbia University, in cooperation with Henry Allen and Sam Barnes of the Boston Community School. February 8 - March 29, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

Since 1974 attention has focused to an unparalleled extent on the crisis in Boston's public schools. Court-ordered integration has brought to the surface a wide variety of concerns about the quality of education in all of the city's schools, the importance of the neighborhood school, the control of various racial and ethnic groups over school policy, and ultimately the value of a publically supported and publically controlled school system for a large urban area. While the current crisis is certainly unique, many of these issues have been faced, in slightly different form, by previous generations of Bostonians. In this context the National Endowment for the Humanities Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library chose the history of Boston's schools as a "subject of particular interest" around which study ought to be organized. The result was the presentation of a series of lectures at the Library in February and March, 1977, the production of this bibliography, and the future publication of the lectures as a book. It is our hope that the published lectures and this bibliography will make available to a larger audience material which is of interest and indeed importance for the future of our city. Without some knowledge of where our schools have been, it is indeed difficult to imagine an intelligent move into the future. We hope, then, that a reading of some of the books listed here will help Bostonians consider carefully the alternatives which must be chosen.

This reading guide has been divided into the eight general areas upon which the lectures focused:

I. Boston's Colonial Experience, 1629-1789

II. Black Schools in White Boston, 1800-1860

III. The Culture Factory, 1830-1860

IV. Parochial Interests Vie for Control, 1860-1890

V. Progressivism and Progressive Education, 1890-1910

VI. Between the Times, 1910-1945

VII. Segregation and Desegregation in the Boston Schools, 1945-1974

VIII. Towards the Future of the Boston School System, 1974 -

I. Boston's Colonial Experience, 1629-1789

Boston's first white settlement was in 1629, and the first schoolmaster was appointed in 1635. From this beginning emerged a colonial hierarchy of "English" schools capped by the Boston Public Latin School for boys preparing for college. The system was also supplemented by a host of informal agencies, and all schools were overshadowed by the more powerful colonial institutions of church and family. By the early 1700's the schools were using about 20% of the town's budget, and in 1789 they were organized under the Boston School Committee, a group which would continue with changes as the ruling authority to the present.

Lawrence A. Cremin. American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783 (New York: Harper & Row, 1970). (Paperback: Harper & Row, 1972).

The first of three projected volumes in Lawrence Cremin's thorough survey of the development of education in America, this book looks at the range of "agencies, formal and informal, [which] have shaped American thought, character, and sensibility..." (p. xi). Cremin has focused his work not only on schools, but also on households, churches, and the community itself as institutions of colonial education. For a student of Boston's school history this volume provides a useful survey of the background against which the Boston school system was emerging. Because of Boston's importance in colonial America the city and the Bay State also receive significant attention in themselves.

The New-England Primer Enlarged. For the more easy attaining the true Reading of English. To which is added, The Assembly of Divines Catechism

(Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, & T. Green, 1727). Edited with an Introduction by Paul Leicester Ford. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1897). (Paperback: Teachers College Press, 1962).

Going through many editions and small changes between its earliest publication in the 1680's and the American Revolution (when the rhyme for W was changed from "Whales in the sea/God's voice obey" to "Great Washington brave/His country did save"), this was the primary textbook of New England's schools. In the Primer, Puritan youth learned the alphabet through a series of rhymes--beginning with "In Adam's Fall/We Sinned all."--the ten commandments, a few verses, and the basic statements of Puritan faith. A look at the Primer gives one a good sense of the basic beliefs of those who founded Boston's schools.

Samuel Eliot Morison. The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956). (Paperback: Cornell, 1960).

Originally given as a series of lectures in 1934, this book provides an excellent study of the founding of Public Grammar Schools as well as the other institutions of Puritan intellectual life from Morison's own unique perspective. While his determination to rescue his Puritan ancestors from their bad reputation among early twentieth-century historians sometimes gives the book an overly devout tone, Morison's wit and charm make this a useful and enjoyable introduction to education in colonial Boston.

II. Black Schools in White Boston, 1800-1860

From the late 1700's members of Boston's small

black community sought to use the public schools and were either denied admission or harrassed once they arrived. The result in the early 1800's was the founding of a black school system, at first privately financed and later adopted by the city. For the next half century Boston continued "separate but equal" schools, while blacks with some abolitionist support lobbied for change until the state legislature banned segregation in 1855.

John Daniels. In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of the Boston Negroes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914; reprinted New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968).

A very dated study, filled with turn-of-the-century racial stereotypes, this book remains the most thorough study of the history and sociology of Boston's black community's up to the First World War. Daniels, a student of Robert A. Woods at the South End Settlement House, made a thorough analysis of existing conditions in the black communities in the South End and Roxbury between 1909 and 1914, and provided a good survey of black history for the preceding 300 years. While the work includes little mention of schooling, it is important background reading for a study of the black experience in Boston's schools, and the Appendix includes an excellent brief statement of the integration struggle in the Boston public schools between 1800 and 1855.

Stanley K. Schultz. The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

By far the best study to date of Boston's schools, Schultz's work provides a detailed--sometimes too detailed--account of the rise of

the Boston system from the founding of the School Committee in 1789 to the outbreak of the Civil War. Schultz argues that rather "than being a stepchild of European Enlightenment theory, or the offspring of domestic democratic trends in the age of the so-called 'common man,' the public school movement in the United States matured in response to what contemporaries viewed as an urban crisis" (p. ix). This urban crisis was especially acute in Boston whose population increased several times over as migrants from interior farms were drawn by the possibilities of urban, industrial jobs, and immigrants from Ireland sought to escape British rule and the potato famine. In response the old elite redesigned the schools to serve as the major institution of assimilation and social control, indeed as a culture factory, for those who were arriving in their city. The school system we know today was the result.

Chapters 7 and 8 of Schultz's book also provide an excellent study of the rise of separate black schools, initially funded by black parents after a series of petitions beginning in 1787 requesting schools of some sort for black children were rejected by the Legislature and the School Committee. And these chapters recount the slow struggle for the integration of blacks into the city system culminating in legislative action in 1855 which overturned Judge Lemuel Shaw's separate but equal ruling of 1850.

III. The Culture Factory, 1830-1860

A distinguishing feature of Jacksonian America was the "common school movement" associated with a Bostonian, Horace Mann. This movement was especially powerful in Boston as industrialization and massive new immigration challenged the older informal educa-

tional network and caused a demand for schools which would assimilate immigrants and provide control over the immigrant and native working classes. The specific developments of this movement in Boston included the appointment of the first Superintendent of Schools, the first compulsory school law, and ironically the foundation of a Roman Catholic parochial school system.

Lawrence A. Cremin, editor. The Republic and the School: Horace Mann On the Education of Free Men (New York: Teachers College Press, 1957). (Paperback: Teachers College Press, 1957).

Cremin's selections from Horace Mann's twelve reports as the first Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education (1837-1848) give one a thorough immersion in the public rhetoric of this leader of the common school movement. Mann's faith that the common school might "become the most effective and benignant of all the forces of civilization" (p. 80) provided the philosophical basis for the firm establishment of Boston's schools in these decades, while his organizational ability--and that of his allies--developed the system which would soon have all the marks of modernity: bureaucracy, compulsory attendance, and opposition to alternatives.

Michael B. Katz. The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968). (Paperback: Beacon Press, 1970).

Challenging the popular myth that public schools were the result of "a rational, enlightened working class, led by idealistic and humanitarian intellectuals, triumphantly wresting free public education from a selfish, wealthy

elite and from the bigoted proponents of orthodox religion," Katz argues that the emergence of the public school in early nineteenth-century America was much more the result of an old elite's attempt to control a newly emerging working class, made up especially of the large numbers of new immigrants arriving after 1840. Using case studies from Boston and elsewhere in Massachusetts--which makes the book especially useful to students of Boston's schools--Katz shows how thoroughly Massachusetts society was transformed between 1800 and 1860 by massive immigration and industrialization. The result, he argues, was that many no longer trusted the colonial network of family, church, community, and school to provide good citizens and turned to the public school as a useful institution for social control and assimilation.

Stanley K. Schultz. The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

This book, reviewed in Part II above, is also of great importance for this section.

IV. Parochial Interests Vie for Control, 1860-1890

The struggle between old Yankee and new Immigrant set the stage for a variety of changes within Boston's schools, aimed at securing power for one side or the other. Within the public school system the appointment in 1851 of the first Superintendent for Boston's schools was followed by the creation of a Board of Supervisors in 1876. In 1876 the School Committee was also reduced from 118 members elected by districts to 24 members elected at large. Both of these moves centralized and professionalized the system. While the schools were increasingly becoming institutions of assimilation for immigrants, the largest immigrant

group--Irish-Catholic--began to form its own parochial school system. Beginning with one school with 60 pupils in 1825, the Catholic system had grown to 24 schools with 16,800 students by 1907.

Oscar Handlin. Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation, Revised and Enlarged Edition. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959). (Paperback: Atheneum, 1968).

This book is helpful in situating the development of Boston's schools within a larger historical context. A major factor in public school growth in the nineteenth century was the burgeoning immigrant population. Handlin focuses on immigration to Boston from 1790 to 1850. Though he mentions various immigrant groups, the period is dominated by the Irish migration which he discusses in depth. Since the early expansion of public schooling between 1820 and 1860 was in large part a response to the "immigrant problem," it is important to get a sense of what immigration actually meant for Boston in that period.

Michael B. Katz. Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illustion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971). (Paperback: Praeger, 1971).

Continuing his analysis from the earlier book, The Irony of Early School Reform, Katz here argues that by 1880 public schools had taken on the basic purpose and structure which would characterize them for a century. The purpose was inculcation of attitudes which would reflect the dominant social and industrial values of the elite, and the structure was bureaucracy. The result was a school system which was "universal, tax-supported, free, compulsory, bureaucratic,

racist, and class-biased" (p. xx). This book focuses especially on the struggle over bureaucracy within the Boston school system between 1850 and 1884, the years in which the first Superintendent was fired, and the clear signs of a support bureaucracy developed, paralleled by the reduction of popular control from a large school board elected by districts to a small one elected at large and therefore more amenable to control by one social class.

Robert Lord, John Sexton, Edward Harrington. History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 3 vols. (Boston: Pilot Publishing Company, 1945).

This three-volume history of the Archdiocese of Boston, which was commissioned by the Church, is the only overview of the growth of the Catholic Church and its institutions in the Boston area. The second volume, which covers the period from 1825-1866, includes the history of the growing Irish population, and the nativist response, which was often violent. It also examines the early development of Catholic institutions including parochial schools. Volume three goes up to 1944 and covers the expansion and consolidation of the parochial school system in the early twentieth century.

Professor James Sanders of Richmond College on Staten Island, is presently engaged in a study of Roman Catholics and education in Boston. This work will include the variety of responses by Boston Catholics to educational issues, including the founding and development of a parochial school system and also the relationship of Catholics to the public schools. Nineteenth-century Boston Catholics, according to Professor Sanders, had considerable ambivalence about

schools, and while some vigorously founded parochial schools, others were drawn to the city's public system. When completed, this study will fill a major gap in our understanding of the educational history of Boston.

V. Progressivism & Progressive Education, 1890-1910

The Progressive movement in politics and education at the turn of the twentieth century gave rise to a variety of developments in Boston. In 1905 Yankee-Progressives, hoping to take power away from Irish political machines, reduced the School Committee still further, to five members elected at large. At the same time, a variety of Progressive programs, for more informal instruction, kindergartens, manual and vocational education, were introduced into the city's schools. A Home and School Association was also founded in 1909.

Lawrence A. Cremin. The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961). (Paperback: Vintage Books, 1964).

By far the most thorough study of the Progressive education movement, Cremin's book links the reform of the schools to the larger Progressive movement which transformed American politics at the turn of the twentieth century. While not specifically focused on Boston, Cremin's study is important because of the especially close links between Yankee-Progressive attempts to regain control of all phases of Boston's life at the end of the nineteenth century and school reform struggles in the Hub.

Marvin Lazerson. The Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915

(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

Lazerson's book is a good resource on the development of public schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is particularly useful in examining the political and ideological roots of the kindergarten movement, manual training, and vocational education. These movements began, in part, as a response to increased immigrant population and the demands of industrial economy. Lazerson also points out interesting connections between private philanthropy in Boston and educational reform.

Henry Greenleaf Pearson. Son of New England: James Jackson Storrow, 1846-1926 (Boston: Thomas Todd Company, 1932).

A totally uncritical biography of Boston's leading Progressive reformer, Pearson's study still provides a wealth of information on the work and perspective of those who attempted, mostly without success, to reclaim control of the political and educational institutions of the city from the Irish political machines. As a leader in the move to centralize the schools in a five-member committee in 1905, and as a reform candidate for mayor against John F. Fitzgerald, Storrow spoke for the Progressive trust in a professional bureaucracy over the rough and tumble of political decision making. As an officer of the investment firm of Lee, Higginson, and Company, Storrow also symbolized the much greater Progressive-Yankee success at increasing their control of Boston's economic institutions.

VI. Between the Times, 1910-1945

In the memory of many Bostonians today, the years between the wars were the "golden age of public education": James Michael Curley dominated the city's politics, Jeremiah Burke became the first Irish Superintendent of Schools, and the schools seemed strict and orderly. A closer look at the system in the first half of the twentieth century raises a considerable challenge to that view. As specialized high schools grew in number, many working-class parents were challenging the development of vocational education as a means of tracking their children away from colleges and into jobs similar to those held by the parents. Teachers and reformers were questioning wages and working conditions as well as the training of most of Boston's teachers at the city's normal school, now Boston State College. Beginning with the arrival of the American Federation of Teachers in 1916 unsuccessful union drives were held, while teachers' actual salaries held virtually the same or dropped from 1919 to 1944. The gold, it seems, had some tarnishes.

Joseph Dinneen. The Purple Shamrock: The Honorable James Michael Curley of Boston (New York: Norton, 1949).

Joe Dinneen was a political journalist who reported on Curley for many years, not always favorably. Curley was a major political figure in Boston for fifty years. From his first election to the common council in 1900 to his last term as mayor in 1949, he had a significant impact on Boston and its political institutions. He came to be the symbol of and for the Boston Irish in their conflict with the Boston Brahmins. Since that Yankee-Irish conflict was also played out in the Boston school system, the book is use-

ful background for understanding Boston in the twentieth century, although there is little direct reference to school politics.

Survey Committee of the Boston Public Schools. Report of Certain Phases of the Boston School System, School Document No. 12, 1929 (Boston: The City of Boston Printing Dept., 1930).

In 1929 the Boston School Board appointed a survey committee which included the president of Harvard University, a judge, and a representative from the Chamber of Commerce, the central labor Council, the Home and School Association, and the school department. The purpose of the committee was to undertake an extensive investigation of various aspects of the Boston school system. The report is a literal gold mine of source material on the public schools, much of it in the form of charts, graphs, and maps that detail developments from 1900 to 1929. Included is information on manual arts and training, vocational education, school buildings, school financing, teacher salaries, class sizes, and demographic studies of school populations. While many of the conclusions and recommendations of the committee are couched in terms of improving quality education, the fundamental purposes of the committee were related to fiscal economies due to rising school costs.

Edward A. Krug. The Shaping of the American High School (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

This two-volume study of the forces that shaped and determined the nature, function, and purposes of the American high school is the most thorough and detailed work of its kind. Krug's

study does not take a narrow view of education, but rather puts it in the context of social, political, and economic developments. Krug clearly illustrates the conflicting values and ideologies of those who both supported and were suspicious of the emergence of the high school as a mass institution. The history of the high school is one in which all the forces surrounding the public education movement in America come into play.

VII. Segregation & Desegregation in the Boston Schools, 1945-1974

The post-war era was a time of important changes in Boston's population as numbers of whites moved to the suburbs and new black and later Spanish-speaking migrants moved in. While the "New Boston" was being built downtown by the Boston Redevelopment Authority, an increasingly segregated school system developed in the neighborhoods. Parental concern about the quality of schools linked with the nation-wide civil rights movement made integration the priority issue in Boston's schools from the 1960's onwards. After a long series of attempts to get the School Committee to recognize the problem of segregation and take action, in 1972, blacks finally turned to the courts, the result being the 1974 Federal Court order desegregating the city's schools.

W. Arthur Garrity. The Boston School Decision (Boston: The Community Action Committee of Paperback Booksmith, 1974).

This is the full text of Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity's decision of June 21, 1974 (in Tallulah Morgan et al. v. James W. Hennigan et al.) in which he found the Boston School Committee "had knowingly carried

out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers, and school facilities and had intentionally brought about or maintained a dual school system...." The Court decision is an excellent starting point for an understanding of the issues of education and race in Boston during the 1960's and early 70's. It clearly illustrates the politics of school segregation practiced by the Boston School Committee during this period. The civil rights movement in Boston, focusing on school segregation, is clearly vindicated by what is written here.

Jonathan Kozol. Death At An Early Age (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967) (Paperback: Bantam Books, 1970).

Kozol spent some months teaching at a segregated elementary school in 1964-65. He was fired in the spring of 1965 for teaching a poem that was not on the approved list of reading materials, Langston Hughes' "Ballad of a Landlord." What happened to him and to his students during his few months at the school is the focus of the book. Kozol's personal experiences are a reflection of the racism and repression of the human spirit that pervaded the public schools of Boston, and most other urban areas as well. Kozol documents this with insight, honesty, and deep feeling. If we wanted one book which would give us an understanding of the "system" as it affects its subjects, black and white school children, we need look no further. The events he describes in 1964-65 transcend one class, one school, one school system, one time period.

Peter Schrag. Village School Downtown (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967). (Paperback: Beacon Press, 1972).

Another view of the Boston Public school system, one that highlights the history and politics of the system, is presented from the point of view of a journalist who spent more than a year visiting and researching the schools of Boston in 1965-66. Whether Schrag is describing the school bureaucracy, the politicians who serve on the school committee, the schools, the teachers, what goes on in the name of learning in the classrooms, or any other aspect of the system, we are treated to a series of revelations about the schools that separates myth from reality and tells us how the system often works. We are also able to perceive the fundamental conflict in values that set blacks and school reformers apart from those whose only stake was to preserve the status quo, at whatever cost to the school children of Boston, black and white.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. Route 128: Boston's Road to Segregation (Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1974).

This study, which was compiled by the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission, is an important document on the post-World-War-II development of the suburbs and their impact on the city of Boston. In addition, there is a valuable historical chapter on black migration to Boston after 1945. Since the population shifts of the city have been greatly affected by the growth of the suburbs and the discrimination patterns which developed, this study is important in developing an understanding of the current crisis in Boston.

VIII. Towards the Future of the Boston School System, 1974 -

There are many sides to the current realities of Boston's schools, the bus rides through new neighborhoods, the Racial Ethnic Parent Councils (REPC's) at each school, the monitoring role of the Citywide Coordinating Council (CCC), and the continued debates between Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity and the Boston School Committee. While the future is always impossible to predict, the parents councils in which 1200 Boston parents are currently involved will certainly remain one new hallmark of a system in which parents had virtually no direct role between 1789 and 1974.

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist America (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

Probably the most thorough economic analysis of American education yet available, Schooling in Capitalist America places the major reforms of education in the context of the larger demands of the nation's capitalist system. The research indicates little relationship between schooling and increased opportunity, but rather a tendency of most school experiences to prepare people to accept an assigned place in the workforce. Drawing especially on examples from Massachusetts, this book focuses on the rise of the common school, the Progressive education movement, and the current changes in schools as reflecting the political and economic conflicts of the times. This is difficult but very important reading for anyone who would hope to understand the problems of educational reform in our era or any other. The authors share John Dewey's faith that the schools can only become good when they reflect a larger society which is just, or

as they would say it: only a revolutionary transformation of the United States economy will truly reform the schools.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. Desegregating the Boston Public Schools: A Crisis in Civic Responsibility (Washington, D. C. : The United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1975).

One year after Boston's schools were ordered to desegregate, the Commission held public hearings in Boston to assess Phase One of the Order and to help create a dialogue that would aid in the implementation of the second year of court-ordered desegregation, Phase Two. During the hearings, a wide variety of public officials and private citizens testified on the events leading up to and including the 1974 school year. What we have then is an often illuminating chronicle discussed by those who were in the middle of the events of that year. The commentary and analysis which surround the testimony provide a context which gives the reader a fairly comprehensive view of Boston school desegregation. It also provides a basis for understanding much of the violence and continuing opposition to court-ordered desegregation.

Alan Lupo. Liberty's Chosen Home: The Politics of Violence in Boston (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1977).

Lupo's book is divided into two sections. The first is an examination of the political, ethnic, and racial history which led up to court-ordered desegregation. This section is a good summary of the political and economic struggles which have formed contemporary Boston. The second part becomes a day-by-day account of Phase One

of the desegregation order and the crises surrounding it. Here, Lupo gets drawn into the momentum of the times, and loses his perspective which is the strength of the first half of the book. However, it is a valuable work, and an important account of the turmoil during the first year of desegregation in Boston.

The "Boston: An Urban Community"
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Boston An Urban Community

Painting in Boston, 1670-1970

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Patricia Mullan Burnham
with the assistance of
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Library Staff

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Boston Public Library, 1977

FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory Committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18-November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University. September 14 - November 2, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the importance of Boston to the formation of our national culture, there does not exist a full-length, published study of the city's contribution to the visual arts. In 1968, Boston University held an exhibit for which the catalog, Boston Painters: 1720-1940, gives an excellent synopsis of the major artists associated with the city. There has also been a doctoral dissertation (unpublished) devoted to the subject, The Fine Arts in Boston: 1815 to 1879 by Jean Gordon (University of Wisconsin, 1965). (One can purchase a facsimile copy from Xerox University-Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan). A good nineteenth-century source is the series by William Howe Downes on "Boston Painters" in the September-December issues of the Atlantic Monthly, 1888. Martin Green's The Problem of Boston (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1966), although it is mainly concerned with literary Boston, probes with an acerbic pen some of the problems of patronage introduced by Downes.

The careers of Boston artists are inevitably intertwined with the institutions of the city. Walter Muir Whitehill's two-volume Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970) and Mabel Munson Swan's The Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873 (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1940) provide the student with fine studies of two of the major art patrons of the city. Two of the art galleries founded in the early nineteenth century in Boston are still in existence today: Doll and Richards Gallery at 172 Newbury Street, and Vose Galleries at 238 Newbury Street. Beth A. Treadway has written a brief account of the Doll and Richards Gallery for the Archives of American Art Journal (Vol. 15, No. 1, 1975, pp. 12-14); Yankee Magazine published a longer story on the Vose Galler-

ies in September, 1973.

There was a time when much of American art was Boston art. This early period, which ended before the middle of the nineteenth century, is well documented in general histories of American art; materials for the later period, however, are more fugitive. A comprehensive history of American art by John Wilmerding has recently been published as part of the distinguished Pelican series, American Art (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1976). Or one might choose Edgar P. Richardson's A Short History of Painting in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963) or Matthew Baigell's A History of American Painting (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971). Richardson's leisurely, scholarly account relates American achievements to the major art movements of Europe. Baigell's shorter, pithier book contains acute insights into the unique art historical conditions obtaining in the United States. Barbara Novak's brilliant analytical study, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969) focuses on selected painters, including Bostonians Copley, Allston, Lane, and Homer, to exemplify her thesis that the realistic tradition is the basic mode of American art.

This bibliography is the result of "Boston Painting: 1770-1970," a sequence offered in the Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Margaret Supplee Smith, Assistant Professor of Art History at Boston University, taught the sequence during October and November, 1976.

PURITAN AND COLONIAL BOSTON

The few paintings surviving from the seventeenth century were meticulously surveyed by Louisa Dresser in 1935, in her Seventeenth-Century Painting in New England (Worcester, Mass.: The Worcester Art Museum). The most recent addition to the scholarly literature is a report by the annual Winterthur Conference, American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal, by Ian M.G. Quimby (1971). First Flowers of Our Wilderness by James Thomas Flexner (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969) remains a useful introduction to the period.

Henry Wilder Foote has written definitive studies of two of Boston's outstanding early painters: Robert Feke: Colonial Portrait Painter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930) and John Smibert, Painter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).

Jules D. Prown's massive, two-volume catalogue raisonné, John Singleton Copley (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966) is the first art historical study undertaken with the aid of a computer. Prown also did a shorter and less intimidating essay for an exhibit of Copley's works that appeared at the Museum of Fine Arts in 1965/66. Alfred Victor Frankenstein's The World of Copley (New York: Time-Life Books, 1970) is an excellent brief guide to Copley's works and to the context in which they were painted.

REVOLUTIONARY AND FEDERAL BOSTON

The visual artifacts of revolutionary and Federal Boston are amply illustrated in the catalog of the Bicentennial exhibit, Paul Revere's Boston, 1735-1818 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1975). Another Bicen-

tennial exhibit, Copley, Stuart and West in America and England (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976)brings together interesting conjunctions of the three painters. Yet a third Bicentennial exhibit, Paintings by New England Provincial Artists, 1775-1800 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976) provides not only a foil for the study of cosmopolitan painting in Boston, but also rare insight into the struggle to form a national style in the aftermath of the Revolution.

Lawrence Park's four-volume work, Gilbert Stuart (New York: W. E. Rudge, 1926) has not yet been superseded. Much more accessible, however, is the catalog of the Rhode Island School of Design exhibit in 1967, Gilbert Stuart: Portraitist of the Young Republic (Meriden, Conn.: The Meriden Gravure Co., 1967). Finally, Charles Merrill Mount has written a biography, Gilbert Stuart (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964).

THE ROMANTIC ERA IN BOSTON

Edgar P. Richardson's Washington Allston: A Study of the Romantic Artist in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, Apollo Editions, 1967) is the outstanding work on the beloved hero of the romantic decades of the 1820's and 1830's in Boston. Learned and gracefully written, it considers Allston in the light of the international movement, Romanticism. The chapter on Allston in Barbara Novak's American Painting of the Nineteenth Century illuminates some of the special problems posed by Allston's work.

The work of the early genre painter, Alvan Fisher, has been summarized by Robert C. Vose, Jr. in "Alvan Fisher," Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin (Vol. 27, October, 1962).

The Bostonian counterpart to the Hudson River

School of landscape painting was its romance with the sea. John Wilmerding has written eloquently of several of Boston's painters of the sea: Robert Salmon, Painter of Ship and Shore (Salem, Mass. and Boston: Peabody Museum of Salem and Boston Public Library, 1971); Fitz Hugh Lane (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971; and Winslow Homer (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972). In addition, two general studies, Wilmerding's A History of American Marine Painting (Salem and Boston: Peabody Museum of Salem and Little, Brown and Company, 1968) and Roger B. Stein's essay for the Whitney Museum of Art, Seascape and the American Imagination (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1975) bring a historical perspective to the subject. Homer is also the subject of two other excellent monographs: Winslow Homer, American Artist, by Albert Ten Eyck Gardner (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1961), and Winslow Homer by Lloyd Goodrich (New York: G. Braziller, 1959). His achievements as a wood engraver in Boston and later, in New York, are discussed in The Wood Engravings of Winslow Homer, edited by Barbara Gelman (New York: Bounty Books, 1969).

BARBIZON ART IN BOSTON

Indispensable to an understanding of this rich but neglected phase of nineteenth-century art in Boston is American Art in the Barbizon Mood, published for the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington, D. C. by the Smithsonian Institution Press in 1975. The text by Peter Bermingham includes an extensive bibliography with separate annotations for each artist. Bermingham's book is not about Boston, but because of the historic role played by William Morris Hunt and Boston in introducing French avant-garde landscape painting to this country, Boston painters form a significant part of his book.

The outstanding artist of the Civil War era in Boston was William Morris Hunt, whom Bermingham considers at length in his book. The first modern edition of Hunt's elliptical, aphoristic teachings, Instructions to Art Students, was published by Dover Publications, Inc., in 1976. Helen M. Knowlton, one of Hunt's students, wrote Art-Life of William Morris Hunt (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1899), an exaggeratedly loyal but informative memoir that can sometimes be found in the collection of one's public library.

Another contemporary account, Truman H. Bartlett's The Art Life of William Rimmer (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., 1882) often turns up at the public library. A more recent account of Rimmer's work is Lincoln Kirsten's "William Rimmer: His Life and Art," Massachusetts Review (Summer, 1961, pp. 685-716). Rimmer's own Art Anatomy, combining his experience as physician, artist, and draughtsman, was published in paperback in 1963 by Dover Books, Inc.

Less well known than either Hunt or Rimmer is Albion Bicknell, whose portrait of Abraham Lincoln hangs in the Doric Room of the State House. Wayne Craven has described his work in "Albion Harris Bicknell, 1837-1915," Antiques (September, 1974, pp. 443-449).

BOSTON IN THE GILDED AGE

One of the best descriptions of fin-de-siecle Boston is Louise Hall Tharp's Mrs. Jack (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), a biography of the doyenne of the Back Bay, Isabella Stewart Gardner. Although Mrs. Tharp's attitude occasionally verges on heroine-worship, her research is generally sound. Sargent's Boston (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1956),

the catalog of the centenary celebration of Mrs. Gardner's portraitist, John Singer Sargent, is a witty portrayal of both the man and his patrons. David McKibbin, head of the Art Department at the Boston Athenaeum, who wrote the catalog essay, knows his Boston well.

Books about Sargent abound. Two of the more recent are Richard Ormond's John Singer Sargent (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), replete with sumptuous color plates, and Donelson Hoopes's The Private World of John Singer Sargent, catalog essay for the Corcoran Gallery of Art (Washington, D. C.: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1964). Tastes in Sargent paintings have changed over the years, and in the absence of a catalogue raisonné of his work, it is wise to consult one of the older studies, too, such as Evan Charteris's John Sargent (New York: C. Scribner's Son, 1927).

Sargent and other American Impressionists have been the subject of increased scholarly attention in recent years. Donelson F. Hoopes in The American Impressionists (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1972) and Richard J. Boyle, American Impressionism (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974) describe the group of American painters who flocked to Paris in the generation after William Morris Hunt, and whose art was characterized by the divided brushstroke and lightened palette of Impressionism.

Hoopes's book, which is the better of the two, has entries not only on Sargent, but also on three great teachers at the Boston Museum School, Frank W. Benson, Joseph O. de Camp, and Edmund G. Tarbell. There are no published monographs on these men, nor is there a history of the School for which they worked. The recent catalog, Art in Transition: A Century of the Museum School (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1977) marks the beginning of belated acknowledgement of the

contribution of the School to the development of the fine arts in Boston. Benson, de Camp, and Tarbell are included, however, in the Metropolitan Museum catalog, American Impressionist and Realist Paintings and Drawings (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973), along with John La Farge, who painted in Boston during one phase of his career, and Dennis Bunker, who was a protege of Mrs. Gardner. Bunker has been the subject of a monograph, Dennis Miller Bunker by Museum School graduate Robert H.I. Gammell (New York: Coward-McCann, 1953), which will offend some because of its antimodernist stance. It is, however, a sensitive and perceptive study not only of Bunker himself but of the world in which he tried to eke out a living, and of the artistic principles which he espoused.

In addition, there have been some publications about other local painters who worked in the Impressionist idiom. In 1974, the Museum of Fine Arts published a small catalog essay on A. C. Goodwin, and in 1972 Patricia J. Pierce and Rolf H. Kristiansen published a catalog, John J. Enneking: American Impressionist Painter (North Abington, Mass.: Pierce Galleries).

POSTSCRIPT

Boston, in addition to having been the birthplace of countless aspiring artists, is also the repository of many outstanding works of American art. The Museum of Fine Arts, for example, has more Copleys than any other museum in the world. It also owns a little-known treasure trove of works by William Morris Hunt. The Fogg Museum at Harvard includes among its riches significant paintings by Allston and others, in addition to an outstanding collection of earlier works. Nor are such art

holdings limited to museums. Harvard University has portraits by Copley, Stuart, Hunt and Sargent hanging on its walls. Downtown hospitals frequently own distinguished portraits of founders and benefactors, and sometimes even contemporary masterpieces as well. The Boston Public Library has a Copley of its own, and extraordinary murals by Sargent in its collection. The student is urged to avail himself or herself of the holdings in the Boston area, in addition to reading from selected bibliographies. A useful guide to Boston collections will be another Boston Public Library publication scheduled in 1977, Check-List of Early American Paintings in the Greater Boston Area.

The "Boston: An Urban Community"
Program is made possible
by a grant from the National
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The Boston Public Library
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Boston
An Urban Community

Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Archie Hobson
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

Boston Public Library, 1977

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Boston Public Library, 1977

FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums, and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins, and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

"Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

A gap, which appears at times cavernous, exists between the public's approach to today's controversies and the way in which the legal profession, to whom the resolution of those controversies is largely entrusted, thinks and talks about the same issues. This reading list is a small attempt to bridge that gap. It grows out of the course "Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience," given in the spring of 1976, as part of the Learning Library Program, by Professor William A. Davis, Jr., of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. While all the materials employed in the course are included, a number of books and articles not suggested at the time have been added. The annotator recognizes that the direction of the lectures and accompanying discussions and the directions in which this list may lead the reader are not necessarily the same. A reading list, however, can make an independent statement while at the same time recapitulating the course it accompanies. The list follows the division of Professor Davis's course into four sections, each taking a specific issue current in Boston and expanding to a discussion of the legal atmosphere surrounding recent developments. The four sections are:

1) Landlord-Tenant Relations: The Changing Law and the Emergence of the Boston Housing Court
2) The Park Plaza Redevelopment Controversy: Administrative Discretion and the Dictates of Law
3) The Movement to Reform the Lower Criminal Courts: The Legal Profession and the Quality of Justice
4) School Desegregation and Its Implementation

The reader will note that each section includes writings both descriptive of the controversies (or taking one side) and philosophical. The latter, most

of them gathered in two anthologies, might be read together as an introduction to the philosophy of law. They are the items numbered 4,5,6,13,14, and 17.

Finally, each item added to the list of assigned course reading has been given a letter as well as the number of that assigned piece it is logically connected with. (Item 6a, for instance.)

A.H.

I: Landlord-Tenant Law and the Emergence of the Boston Housing Court

In this first section, Professor Davis's theme was the shifting balance in American landlord/tenant law, a progression paralleling, and often following at some distance, changes in the economic realities of housing in this country. The readings fall into several categories: overview, policy analysis, guidelines for activism, and philosophical background to legal developments.

1. Frank I. Michelman, "The Law of Urban Housing," in Harold J. Berman, ed., Talks on American Law (New York: Vintage, 1971), pp. 230-249.

This is a 1970 discussion of trends in American landlord-tenant law; many of the major Massachusetts changes following these trends have occurred since then. Michelman describes the force traditional--medieval--land law has exerted until recently: the emphasis on "productive" use of the land led to strong protections for the landlord, whose tenant was supposed to be generating wealth, not simply housing himself. At the same time, traditional land law expressed the idea that property should be disposed of as the owner saw fit, a reluctance to interfere with free-market economics. But unregulated use of property, and agricultural economics, bear little relation to the housing market of the 1970s, Michelman notes, and he calls for "sophisticated" legal concepts to replace those that lag behind changing economics. While he notes that inadequate tenant bargaining power is at the root of many problems today, and suggests that approaching the problem solely through the courtroom may lead to an undesired reduction in low-cost housing, Michelman does not venture beyond general

suggestions, such as that government might become more active in aid for financing.

2. Chester W. Hartman, Housing and Social Policy (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1975), pp. 59-84.

Hartman's book is a thorough summary of the American housing scene, discussing the economics and law involved in new construction as well as existing housing, in home ownership as well as in rental housing, and the range of government policies that have been directed towards the continuing problem. In the section focussed on here, he discusses the importance of the existing housing stock to tenants, the impact of housing codes and their enforcement, and the possibilities of rehabilitation programs, as well as the often adversary relationship between landlord and tenant. The reasons why policies to date have failed and advances in the law have not led directly to improvement in the housing supply are detailed; if Hartman seems finally pessimistic, it may be because he senses a negative answer to his basic question: whether the right to decent housing is compatible with a profit system.

3. Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee, Legal Tactics (Handbook for Massachusetts Tenants), (Cambridge, 1975).

CTOC's handbook is tactical in the sense that it details procedures tenants can use in courts and in administrative hearings. It also expresses a political point of view about landlord-tenant relations and about the proper way to approach them: through organization by tenants rather than through reliance on results in the legal process. "The law is not neutral," CTOC

says, but weighted towards landlords because written and administered by members of the landlord class. Reforms cannot change basic property relations, nor are they intended to; the real aim of the legal system is to defuse tenant organization and to preserve the profitable business of most landlords by doing a modest amount of policing to keep the most blatantly unjust under control. The trouble with housing codes, from CTOC's point of view, is that they are not stringently enforced; this counters Hartman's view that enforcement is, or is likely to be, strong enough to cause wholesale abandonment by landlords and ultimate damage to tenants. The difference is that CTOC is calling tenants to action to better their living conditions, while Hartman, who may share the same end of tenant control of housing, is less sanguine in his analysis of the effects of that action.

Legal Tactics contains appendices with texts of the key Massachusetts statutes, regulations, and court decisions affecting tenants. As a tool for current use, it is updated by the organization from time to time.

4. Richard McKeon, "Justice and Equality," in Carl J. Friedrich and John W. Chapman, eds., Nomos VI: Justice, (New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1963, 1974), pp. 44-61.

McKeon, a philosopher, speculates on the development of the concept of equality, an idea he sees growing through history as more and more people are included among those to be counted "equal." He posits three periods: in the first, the relation of society to the ruler was the critical question. In the second, it was the relation of the individual to society; questions of individual rights were in focus in the revolu-

tionary period of the eighteenth century. McKeon sees the twentieth century as a third period, in which manipulation of the majority of society--the tyranny of prevailing opinion--has become the prime question, since rule of the majority (democracy) has been accepted. In the modern period, the relation of private to public has become the center of attention, and questions of economic equality dominate; while in the eighteenth century, freedom of speech, religion, and assembly were most sought by revolutionaries, twentieth-century revolutionaries are concerned with freedom from want and from economic discrimination. The vocabularies of the earlier struggles are no longer appropriate; but McKeon proposes that the contradictions between desired equalities may be fruitfully explored, and that there is no "master plan" laid down by the use of reason, rather a continuing need to reexamine preconceptions which is a sign of healthy progress.

5. A. M. Honoré, "Social Justice," in Robert S. Summers, ed., Essays in Legal Philosophy (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; Berkeley; University of California Press, 1968), pp. 61-94.

Like McKeon, Honoré regards the twentieth century as radically different from earlier periods He summarizes various forms of "justice" explored by philosophers (he suggests six) and extracts from them principles relevant to social justice. In twentieth-century thinking, social justice has taken the place of the "just man" standard of individual ethics dating back to Aristotle. Honoré proposes that social justice is something each individual has a claim to regardless of conduct or deserts; allocation according to need and conformity to rule are subordinate aspects. The claim to an equal share in social goods is not

equivalent to a claim to equal treatment; the underprivileged may be treated preferentially. Honoré recognizes that social justice is a radical principle, opposed in many instances to other social ideals (liberty, for one), but he holds that in the long run it is the only principle likely to bring social stability.

II: The Park Plaza Controversy: Administrative Discretion and the Dictates of Law

The second section of the course focussed on the exercise of discretion by those who administer the law; the case studied was the history of disapproval and then approval of Park Plaza redevelopment schemes by the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs. Administrative discretion is an area in which there is little definition. In an increasingly bureaucratized society, it is also an area of growing importance; but in the literature of that branch of legal scholarship known generally as "administrative law," attention has been centered on determining which decisions are subject to discretion and which are not, rather than on the exercise itself. For present purposes, an article which attempts a philosophical inquiry into the sources of administrative authority to make law--the source of power from which the use of discretion follows--is augmented with a polemic that, considering the circumstances of urban renewal decision-making, calls into question some of the assumptions of the first article.

6. Clarence Morris, "Law, Justice, and the Public's Aspirations," in Carl J. Friedrich and John W. Chapman, eds., Nomos VI: Justice (New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1963, 1974), pp. 170-190.

Lawmakers are agents of the public; justice results when they consciously advance the public's

interests, although they may act without a clear understanding of those interests, or may fail to act for other reasons. To Morris, legislative bodies are clearly the proper agents. But since legislation proceeds slowly, courts and administrators are called into the lawmaking role also. In a number of historical instances judges have made law in periods when legislatures failed to keep step with social change. Morris suggests that when it is left to the courts to make law, advocates become crucial to the process, both because they further the use of existing legal remedies in new situations and because they act to check the freedom of judges to innovate. He can be said here to be offering theoretical support for the "adversary" system of justice; in addition, his insights into the role of advocates can be applied to the same role taken before administrative bodies, who are like judges entrusted with the power to make "law."

Beyond the well-defined roles of the legislatures and the courts, Morris sees a wider "justice of social obligations" that exists without governmental intervention. It arises out of the folk character, like a people's language, and the operation of government is necessary only when a breakdown in the system of social understandings leaves a vacuum. Morris calls for greater recognition of the role of private institutions and transactions in creating justice; he would have the public aspirations which lie behind social transactions more closely examined. With the increased understanding thus derived, law and with it justice can be created without the often lengthy recourse to legislatures and courts.

6a. Robert Goodman, After the Planners (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971).

A founder of Urban Planning Aid, a Boston group formed in the 1960s to fight top-down urban renewal planning, Goodman attacks the elitism of the city planning movement. He has been involved in "advocacy planning"--a channel designed to provide some community input into planning decisions by making the process essentially adversary--but he sees this as a failure because the only real power is concentrated in the hands of the business interests behind renewal. He is also concerned with debunking the myth of the neutral professional involved in urban planning. Ultimately, says Goodman, the answer must be a shift in wealth and power; any planning from the top, whether under capitalism or state socialism, implies a loss of the community's power to control its way of life.

Goodman's book calls into question the idea that private transactions can lead to justice in decisions like planning choices, where there is a basic inequality of power among the groups affected. While he does not draw the conclusion that planning decisions made by adjudicatory procedures will produce justice, given an inequality among the parties, it would seem to follow that the more formal the decision-making process, the more chance the interests of the less powerful will be protected.

III: The Movement to Reform the Lower Criminal Courts: The Legal Profession and the Quality of Justice

In the third section, the state of the lower court reform movement was analyzed. Readings include a report which was important in casting light on problems in the system in 1969, and a recent article by a

court administrator on progress since then. The attitude of the legal profession towards court reform, and the nature of the profession itself, was examined in a number of writings. Included are the views of lawyers and nonlawyers with widely divergent philosophical and political assumptions.

7. Stephen R. Bing and S. Stephen Rosenfeld, The Quality of Justice in the Lower Criminal Courts of Metropolitan Boston (Boston: Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, 1970).

The report of a 1969 survey of Boston's lower (district) criminal courts concluded that conditions in these courts, which affect poor people chiefly, "seriously abuse principles of fairness and due process." The authors concentrated on the procedures followed in the lower courts by judges, police prosecutors, and bail commissioners and bondsmen. The caseload consisted largely of minor traffic offenses and drunkeness offenses; and the operation of the lower courts took place within the trial de novo system, which theoretically ensured each defendant's constitutional right to a jury trial by allowing him a second chance in the superior court. In practice, however, the de novo system served to obscure the practices of the lower courts, which were not reviewed when the new trial began; and the right to a jury trial was effectively denied to those defendants in district court threatened with imposition of sentence or other sanctions if they sought the new trial. The report is heavily documented, the authors'design being to prompt reform through exposure. While their basic proposal was abolition of the de novo system altogether, Bing and Rosenfield recognized that so basic a change was unlikely soon, and they proposed also alternative, less sweeping, reforms. Increased parti-

cipation of the organized bar in Massachusetts was also called for.

The Bail Reform Act of 1972, and other changes since The Quality of Justice was written, have remedied some of the problems Bing and Rosenfeld described. The reader will note, however, that the movement to reform Massachusetts district courts continues, most noticeably in early 1977 with the Cox Commission report.

8. Jerome S. Berg, "The District Courts in Massachusetts: Making Decentralization Work," in Judicature, Vol. 59, no. 7 (February, 1976), pp. 344-352.

An administrator for the Massachusetts district courts surveys self-improvement efforts in the five years prior to 1976; he does not mention the 1970 Bing and Rosenfeld report as an element in pressure for reform. According to Berg, the major achievement in the district courts in this period has been an upgrading through administrative measures, preserving what he sees as the cardinal virtue of the system, the decentralized structure of the lower courts. While Berg notes that an end to the de novo system itself is under study, he suggests that strengthening the current two level system is a more realistic immediate goal. He does not draw the obvious conclusion that strengthening the system will forestall change indefinitely; his concern seems to be more with the integrity of the court system (its repute, in effect), than with the treatment it affords defendants, the central focus of the Bing and Rosenfeld study. He does, however, join the earlier writers in suggesting the time is ripe for lesser reforms, such as improved record-keeping.

9. John J. Bonsignore, et al., eds., Before the Law: An Introduction to the Legal Process (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).

This book is a recent entry in a new category: textbooks on law for nonlaw students. Thus, while in format like a law text in including the reports of a number of cases crucial to an understanding of legal concepts, it is not, like traditional law texts, restricted almost entirely to the writings of appellate court judges, whose opinions are naturally circumscribed by their role and social status. Instead, the editors have assembled a wide range of analytical writing, journalistic accounts, political thought, and other materials designed to cast light on the "legal process." In the anthology format the reader is free to draw conclusions, but the bent of the editors is evident in some of their organizational choices: the section on "law, status, wealth, and power," for instance, suggests by its title alone categories traditional law study chooses not to recognize. The selections assembled under the heading "The Lawyer and Social Reform," in Chapter 3, are of particular interest in relation to items 10,11,12, and 12a below, and to the question of the role lawyers themselves can take in efforts towards institutional change. They include a collection of responses to the working of one of the nation's best-known legal services projects in the 1960s.

10. Harold J. Berman, ed. Talks on American Law (New York, Vintage, 1971), Chapters II, III, IV, V, and XVII, pp. 19-75, 250-263.

A series of radio talks on American law prepared for the United States Information Agency in 1959 and updated in 1970. The authors, all

Harvard professors, discuss in the chapters cited the judge's role, the adversary system, trial by jury, rights of the accused in criminal trials, and the legal profession. The format, which required brevity and a degree of superficiality, and the apparent sympathies of the authors, combine to produce a generally uncritical effect. Thus Fuller's article on the adversary system seems to assume an equality of resources among the parties to a dispute; Hall suggests that the legal profession has made various rights available to the accused. The former is typical of a number of normative statements in these articles which are given as descriptive; the latter is an example of the ahistorical cast of the writing, as it passes over the long struggle for certain of the rights in question, a struggle often retarded rather than advanced by the legal profession. Onthe whole the articles in the Berman collection may be taken as an apology for the American legal system; criticism is muted. As Berman notes in his preface that "no censorship" was a condition he exacted from the USIA, the reader must assume that the writers were satisfied with the state of American law in 1959 and in 1970.

11. Robert Lefcourt, ed. Law Against the People: Essays to Demystify Law, Order, and the Courts (New York: Vintage, 1971).

This collection of essays may be taken as the antithesis to Berman's book. The writers include civil rights lawyers, voices from various antiestablishment groups of the late 1960s, and nonlawyers analyzing the law from a left economic and political standpoint.

The authors are concerned with the role radicals may or may not be able to take in the Amer-

ican legal system. Recognition of the class nature of the system is seen as basic in approaching this problem; there is general agreement that law itself cannot effect fundamental change, which will occur only with economic reordering. The neutrality of the law is a myth; those who wish to use the law to bring about change must consider whether their role is simply to expose the contradictions inherent in the system, or whether it is in some larger sense (suggested in Arthur Kinoy's article on the radical lawyer and teacher of law) to work towards a resolution of the contradictions. The uncertainty as to the lawyer's role expressed in this anthology continues among those who brought activist attitudes from the 1960s into the study or practice of law. For further expressions of the same conflicts, see Jonathan Black, ed., Radical Lawyers (New York: Avon, 1971).

12. Jerold S. Auerbach, Unequal Justice: Lawyers and Social Change in Modern America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

A social historian who was once a law student adds perspective to the debate between the attitudes expressed in the Berman and Lefcourt anthologies. Auerbach is concerned chiefly with the elite of the legal profession since the end of the nineteenth century, and he concludes with the observation that in the era of Vietnam and of Watergate, "legitimate authority" has been stripped from those institutions, including the law, which have seemed the bulwark of society. To Auerbach the future portends great change, about which he is not optimistic.

Auerbach pictures a profession which likes to think of itself as having grown from a field for principled individual effort (the Abraham Lincoln myth) into one "led" by highly efficient large firms enabling American society and its economy to run smoothly. The reality, he says, is that the profession has always been highly stratified, and has consistently protected itself against expansion, particularly against the entry of immigrant lawyers into its higher echelons. Legal education and the ethical codes established by the profession are analyzed in this light. The New Deal, Auerbach suggests, was a period of great upheaval in the profession, but one which gave way to a consolidation typified by idealistic young New Deal lawyers going to work for the industries they had been involved in regulating. In light of this experience, one might find Auerbach's sense that a real change will come out of the upheavals of the 1960s unsound; but he is not claiming to know the future, only to give a solid account of the past from a viewpoint that has been generally unrepresented in legal history. For this reason Unequal Justice is particularly valuable.

12a. John A. Robertson, ed., Rough Justice: Perspectives on Lower Criminal Courts (Boston: Little Brown, 1974).

This anthology incorporates parts of the Bing and Rosenfeld report; it makes the point, important to remember in reading the latter, that reform efforts are cyclical, in Massachusetts occurring about every ten years. The appearance in early 1977 of the Cox Commission report on the criminal courts buttresses the point.

In his introduction, Robertson discusses the effect (or lack of effect) of past reform ef-

forts, and the "orthodox explanation" for lower court problems--that there has not been a devotion of resources equal to the task of reform, and that structural elements resist change. He proposes instead that reformers understand all the functions of lower courts before they propose structural change. This is essentially a call for a form of functional analysis. Beyond the ostensible purpose of dispensing justice, these courts exist for a number of reasons: to protect superior courts from drains on time and resources; to maintain social order; to resolve disputes; to reinforce the social dominance of the idea of legality; and for internal bureaucratic goals common to many structures--the self-justifying high level of "production" which satisfies functionaries and gives grounds for continued support from those in authority and from the people. The particular value of this collection of articles is that the reader is acquainted with the functional realities of court operation which fall outside of the justice-dispensing role reformers and defenders of the courts alike focus on.

13. John Rawls, "Justice as Fairness," in Edward A. Kent, ed., Law and Philosophy: Readings in Legal Philosophy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 490-497.

The first of a pair of articles chosen to cast theoretical light on the nature of reform and of the legal profession. Rawls's piece is an early draft for studies which eventually resulted in his long work A Theory of Justice. His principal claim is that utilitarianism, which has been the dominant strain in legal philosophy, is unable to account for fairness, the fundamental concept in the idea of justice. Rawls takes

what could be called a neocontractualist line of thought; essentially, justice inheres in institutions that allow for no circumscription of individual rights until the holders of those rights begin, in their exercise, to interfere with each other. If all parties to an agreement mutually acknowledge a set of principles governing that agreement, then fairness is achieved. The utilitarians differ in looking for the grestest possible total benefit; in their balancing of gain and loss, they countenance situations in which there is no conceivable benefit to one (a slave, for instance) so long as there is a greater benefit for all.

14. John W. Chapman, "Justice and Fairness," in John W. Chapman and Carl J. Friedrich, eds., Nomos VI: Justice (New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1963, 1974), pp. 147-170.

Answering Rawls, Chapman argues that the "Contract" Rawls proposes is too grounded in the idea of reciprocity, and that other considerations, need and natural right, must be taken more into account. Historically, Chapman says, utilitarianism was an advance on contractualism, because the latter called only for fairness in actual dealings, and was not concerned with the consequences of an agreement fairly entered into. Both the concept of fairness, which Chapman equates with reciprocity, and the concept of justice, which assesses the outcomes of agreements, must be kept in mind. Both concerns are rooted in the moral nature of personality, expressing a sense of what is owed to us as persons.

IV: School Desegregation and its Implementation

In the final section of the course, the problem of school desegregation was examined in its historical aspect--the background of the 1954 Brown decision--and in its current aspect--implementation of the 1965 Racial Imbalance Act under court order. While Massachusetts is unique in some ways--school desegregation was an issue here before the Civil War, and the Racial Imbalance Act was the first enactment of its kind by a state legislature--in other ways the state of school desegregation here is typical of northern industrial states. The struggle against de jure segregation in the south is all but over; minority members in the major population centers now face the seemingly intractable problem of de facto segregation, due as much to economic as to racial discrimination. The readings look into both Massachusetts history and the larger national issue.

15. Richard Kluger, Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality (New York: Knopf, 1976).

Simple Justice is a thorough, lucid, highly readable account of the events and personalities behind the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision holding segregation of schools unconstitutional. Kluger, a journalist, employs a dramatic structure in recounting the concentrated effort of a small group of NAACP lawyers and their allies to bring about a basic social change through the courts. The book has weaknesses--southern society is made to appear somewhat one-dimensional, the economics of segregation are not adequately dealt with, and Kluger's projections into the future are sketchy, particularly with regard to the now central issue of de facto segregation--but this is a

vivid account of the politics of the pre-Brown period, of the dedication of the legal activists who made the case, and of the fruition of their labors.

15a. Frank Levy, Northern Schools and Civil Rights: The Racial Imbalance Act of Massachusetts (Chicago: Markham Co., 1971).

This study of the 1965 Act, itself in one sense part of the implementation of Brown, provides food for thought about the current Boston school controversy. Levy amasses statistical evidence to support his thesis that the Act, like most Civil Rights acts, was passed by those legislators representing constituents not directly affected by its implementation; the implication that school desegregation, or other civil-rights legislation affecting life in the Boston suburbs will be hard or impossible to pass is clear.

15b. Leonard Levy and Douglas L. Jones, eds. Jim Crow in Boston: The Origin of the Separate but Equal Doctrine (New York: Da Capo, 1974).

Boston schools were desegregated by law long before slavery itself was abolished in the United States. Levy and Jones have collected basic documents surrounding the 1849 Roberts decision, which upheld segregation but which was overturned by the Massachusetts legislature only six years later. In the introduction Levy points out how the words of Massachusetts Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw in Roberts were used--tenuously--by the United States Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson, the 1896 case which legitimized segregation in American public schools until 1954.

16. Derrick A. Bell, Jr., ed. Race and Racism in American Law (Boston: Little-Brown, 1973), pp. 431-606.

In format, Bell's is the typical law school casebook, emphasizing, in the section chosen, the texts of a large number of appellate court opinions on the topic of school desegregation and equal educational opportunity. The reader will find both Brown decisions, and the major cases following Brown II, the implementation decision that established the "with all deliberate speed" standard for school desegregation. This edition does not include some of the most important decisions affecting the de facto segregation controversy, on cases which have begun or have reached the higher courts since the date of publication: San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez, in 1973, Milliken v. Bradley, the 1974 Detroit decision, and later cases. On the whole Bell's choices indicate the legal system's unwillingness to recognize inequalities of wealth as the basic category in which a good deal of the "desegregation" controversy should be considered; he does, on the other hand, establish as separate topics northern school litigation after Brown and alternatives to integrated education (discussing specifically the arguments between advocates for systematic integration and supporters of community-controlled schools). While the law of school desegregation continues to be made, rendering any collection of cases such as Bell's quickly obsolete, the reader will discover in the materials collected here the background to, and the basic vocabulary used in, the current litigation.

.7. Isaiah Berlin, "Equality as an Ideal," in Frederick A. Olafson, ed., Justice and Social Policy (New York: Prentice-Hall, Spectrum, 1961), pp. 128-149.

The Brown decision of 1954 broke with previous Supreme Court doctrine in the field of public education by rejecting the idea that separate schools for blacks could be equal to those maintained for the white majority. In this final selection the philosopher Isaiah Berlin grapples with the problem whether the ideal of "equality" can be taken out of the various contexts in which it is discussed, in order to define it clearly. Berlin suggests that while there is general agreement that it is natural to treat each member of a class equally, unless there is sufficient reason for not doing so, two issues are left open: what constitutes sufficient reason in a given case? and what class are the parties concerned seen to be members of? Attacks on inequality come from two directions: first, from a belief in the "natural rights" of individuals; and second, from a set of rational principles. The second is the more extensive point of view, as the definition of natural rights may be very limited; it may lead, for instance, to the view that with minimal requirements of equality individuals in society should be left to take advantage of another, conflicting ideal--liberty--to succeed or fail according to their individual characteristics. Berlin concludes that the compatibility of equality with other aims such as liberty is not deducible from any general principles; instead, all ethical and political systems arrive at a compromise between the conflicting ideals.

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Boston An Urban Community

Boston's Artisans of the Eighteenth Century

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Susan Geib
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

Boston Public Library, 1977

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INTRODUCTION

This reading list is the product of "Boston's Artisans of the Eighteenth Century, 1725-1815," a sequence in the series offered in the Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). Wendy A. Cooper, Assistant Curator, Department of American Decorative Arts and Sculpture, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, taught the sequence during November and December, 1975, and January, 1976.

The title, "Boston's Artisans of the Eighteenth Century" carries with it a number of connotations: the sequence concerned both artisans and their products and was based on the assumption that both their careers and their creations bore the mark of a particular Boston style of life and of craft. The ninety-year period from 1725 to 1815 was one of enormous change for Boston's artisans. In an urban community that was developing geographically and politically from town to city, most craftsmen were gradually losing social and economic status in spite of their important role in Revolutionary activity. The styles they were working in evolved from the provincial Baroque to republican neoclassical. The craft system was beginning to move from the small shop of the master craftsman to the large manufactory-- the forerunner of the modern factory. To understand these changes in life, style and method is to begin to understand an aspect of America's shift from cultural dependence to independence.

This reading list is divided into three sections. The first deals with the topography of the city of Boston from 1725 to 1815. The second contains works on the artisan community and the social structure of

Boston, focusing on the role of craftsmen in the Revolution and their changing social status. The third section describes the crafts of eighteenth-century Boston and contains biographic materials on individual artisans. In each section, works are arranged from the most general to the most specialized, and non-Boston readings are included where none specific to Boston are available.

S. G.

Section 1: Boston: The Eighteenth-Century City

ıter Muir Whitehill, Boston: A Topographical History. 2d edition, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968. Paperback edition: Harvard University Press.

The definitive twentieth-century work on Boston's physical growth from settlement through the present. In a compact and well-illustrated form, Mr. Whitehill documents the areas important to the commercial and craft communities in colonial Boston and the emergence of new centers of fashion in the Federal period.

ʻold Kirker and James Kirker, Bulfinch's Boston, 1787-1817. New York, Oxford University Press, 1964.

This readable study of Boston in the post-revolutionary decades dwells primarily on the social life of the merchants and economic elite, but is useful for giving a vivid image of the city and discussing the patrons of the artisan community. The physical changes in the development of post-Revolutionary Boston and Charles Bulfinch's role in the introduction of the neoclassical style in architecture are discussed.

ıie Haven Thwing, The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630-1822. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920. Facsimile edition, Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1970.
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These two works represent the study of the his-

tory and growth of Boston as practiced in the local antiquarian tradition, so important in understanding Boston's unique cultural heritage. Both are illustrated by maps and prints and are full of interesting anecdotes about the city and its inhabitants.

Theodore Thomte, editor. James Henry Stark's Antique Views of Boston. Burdette & Company, Inc.: Boston, 1967.

A republication of the 1801 second edition of the 1882 book of Boston scenes, this volume reproduces many of the famous prints of Boston and environs made by local artisans. The topographical information is helpful in assisting the reader in locating various buildings, and the text is another fascinating example of nineteenth-century antiquarian scholarship.

Section 2: The Artisan Community and the Social Structure of Boston

Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman. New York; New York University Press, 1950. Paperback edition: University of Chicago Press.

In this study, one of the earliest in which a major historian seriously considered the role of the artisan in colonial America, Professor Bridenbaugh examines craftsmen in terms of their place in the social order of the eighteenth-century colonies. He covers rural and urban artisans in both the north and south, relying on such sources as newspapers, diaries, and public records. Not primarily an analysis of artisan life and society, this book provides the reader with a wide selection of primary source quotations describing the craftsman's life and activities.

George Francis Dow, The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775. Topsfield, Massachusetts, The Wayside Press, 1927. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1967.

The title page of this volume bears the subheading, "Gleanings from Boston newspapers relating to Painting, Engraving, Silversmiths, Pewterers, Clockmakers, furniture, pottery, old houses, costume, trades and occupations, etc., etc., etc., etc., etc., &," and that accurately describes its contents. In order to make the documentary evidence contained in Boston's colonial newspapers more accessible, Mr. Dow collected "gleanings" from the Boston News-Letter, Boston Gazette, New England Courant, New England Journal, and Boston Evening Post, arranging them according to craft category. Introductory essay.

Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. Paperback edition, Collier Books, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1963.

This history of the Stamp Act crisis contains a section on Boston and the Loyal Nine in the riots of 1765 which chronicles the importance of artisans such as printer Benjamin Edes in the political agitation which produced the Sons of Liberty and was an important step toward the development of the sentiment for independence.

James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XXII (1965), 75-92.

Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XXVIII (1971), 375-412.

Companion pieces on Boston's social structure. Mr. Henretta traces Boston's transformation from an agricultural to a maritime commercial society. With the increasing economic development of the eighteenth century, he finds that the wealth of the town became gradually more unevenly distributed and society increasingly more stratified by the time of the Revolution. Mr. Kulikoff follows the steady progress of this trend after the Revolution, noting a greater concentration of wealth and status and the growth of larger units of production.

Section 3: The Crafts and Individual Craftsmen

General

Paul Revere's Boston, 1735-1818. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1975.

The exhibition catalog of the 1975 Museum of Fine Arts exhibition of the same name, Paul Revere's Boston is indispensible to anyone interested in Boston's eighteenth-century arts and artisans. Essays for general readers on life in Boston before and after the revolution are combined with lengthy scholarly captions to the profuse illustrations which provide much greater detail and excellent bibliographic references.

Nina Fletcher Little, Country Arts in Early American Homes. New York: Dutton & Co., Inc., 1975. Paperback edition: Dutton.

This is an excellent starting point for a person interested in decorative arts in the 1750-1850 period. Mrs. Little devotes survey chapters to such topics as architecture, carving, and ceramics, and her readable text speaks directly from the examples illustrated.

Abbott Lowell Cummings, editor. Rural Household Inventories. Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964. (Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine).

One of the most helpful books a student of decorative arts in colonial Massachusetts could hope to find, this volume contains an excellent introductory essay on the furnishing of period houses, together with relevant illustrations and a comprehensive glossary. The body of the work consists of the 109 complete room-by-room probate inventories extant for the rural towns of Suffolk County between 1675 and 1775.

Painters

Copley Stuart, and West in America and England. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976.

This exhibition catalog opens with an introductory essay detailing the careers of these three American painters who began as ambitious provincial limners and later went to England to join artists working in more progressive modes. Well-illustrated and with extensive captions.

Jules David Prown, John Singleton Copley. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966. Published for the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

A distinguished work on one of the first major American painters, divided into two volumes chronicling first his American and later his English career. Students of Boston's eighteenth-century artisans will be especially interested in the first volume which traces Copley's growing skill and professionalism in his native Boston

and his desire to live up to European standards. Analysis of individual portraits; detailed appendices; checklist of Copley's American portraits.

Andrew Oliver, editor. The Notebook of John Smibert. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969.

This intriguing volume contains both a facsimile and a modern transcription of the notebook of the immigrant artist, John Smibert, including his years in New England, recording personal events and the business of being a painter. Explanatory essays and detailed notes. An excellent and accessible primary source.

Printers and Engravers

American Printmaking: The First 150 Years. New York: The Museum of Graphic Art, 1969.

An exhibition catalog, good for general browsing, containing as it does reproduced prints and full notes but no long essays. There is a comprehensive selection of prints by Boston and other makers from 1670 to 1820.

John D. Morse, editor. Prints In and Of America to 1850. Winterthur Conference Report. 1970. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1970.

This varied collection of scholarly essays covers many topics in early prints, but the essay of greatest interest from the point of view of this reading list is "The Graphic Arts of Colonial New England," by Sinclair Hitchings, Keeper of Prints, Boston Public Library. In his essay, Mr. Hitchings describes the post-1740 spurt of printmaking, in terms of portraits, maps and charts, and work by newspaper printers and silversmiths.

Walter Muir Whitehill and Sinclair H. Hitchings, editors. Boston Prints and Printmakers, 1670-1775. Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973.

The single most important scholarly essays on Boston printmakers and their work produced to date. Included is an essay on Boston's eighteenth-century map-makers, and on printmakers William Burgis, Thomas Johnston, Peter Pelham, and heraldic and emblematic painters.

Clarence S. Brigham, Paul Revere's Engravings. 2d revised edition. New York: Atheneum, 1969.

After a short bibliographical essay on Revere and another on his daybooks, this work is a fascinating series of reproductions of and short essays on Paul Revere's multifaceted repertoire of engravings. Documentation of sources and copies.

Laurence C. Wroth, The Colonial Painter. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1964. Paperback edition: University Press of Virginia.

Although it dwells primarily on newspaper printers, Wroth's book contains much valuable information on colonial printing houses, presses, types, paper, etc., and on the different kinds of printmaking practiced. A good technical guide.

Furniture Makers

Barry A. Greenlaw, New England Furniture at Williamsburg. Williamsburg, Va.; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1974.

Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period, in the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum. New York: The Viking Press, 1966.

Two volumes that provide good visual resources for the examination of a number of furniture types of both pre- and post-Revolutionary furniture styles. Excellent illustrations with detailed discussions of individual pieces, and introduction to the cabinetmaker's trade.

Walter Muir Whitehill, Brock Jobe, and Jonathan Fairbanks, editors, Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century. Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1974.

Another set of scholarly essays written for a conference held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. The lead essay, "The Boston Furniture Industry, 1720-1740," by Brock Jobe, is an excellent and comprehensive survey of furniture making and makers, including ancillary crafts. Good treatment of social and kinship relations within the artisan community. The book contains as well a series of essays on more specialized topics such as japanned and bombé furniture. There is an appended directory of eighteenth-century Boston furniture craftsmen and a bibliography of readings on individual makers.

Goldsmiths

Martha Gandy Fales, Early American Silver for the Cautious Collector. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1970.

A good introduction to the topic. Mrs. Fales considers style and form, design sources, regional variations, and use of silver. There is a val-

uable section on the technical aspects of goldsmithing: training, methods, business procedures, ancillary crafts; also identification and care. Glossary.

Kathryn C. Buhler, Colonial Silversmiths: Masters and Apprentices. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1956.
_____, American Silver, 1655-1825, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2 vols. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1972.

These two works by Kathryn Buhler should be examined sequentially. The 1956 exhibition catalog contains a general essay on early goldsmithing and the work of goldsmiths and an illustrated catalog of 126 objects. The 1972 publication is more detailed, arranged geographically, and lists makers chronologically. There are short essays on the makers' biographies and marks and the provenance and exhibition history of each object with full references.

Esther Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942. Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin, Sentry ed.

A biography of the goldsmith-patriot which gives a sense of Boston artisan life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Esther Forbes covers Revere's childhood and apprenticeship; marriages and family; goldsmithing and engraving; work for the Sons of Liberty; and later entrepreneurial activities. Also see her children's book, Johnny Tremain (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943; paperback edition, Dell), a fictional account of an apprentice goldsmith in Revolutionary Boston.

Miscellaneous Crafts

Charles F. Montgomery. A History of American Pewter. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

A social history of pewter and the craft of the pewterer. Mr. Montgomery deals with the techniques of making pewter, connoisseurship, and with pewter vessels by formal type.

Lura Woodside Watkins, Early New England Potters and Their Wares. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Mrs. Watkins tells the story of redware and stoneware production in the traditional potteries of early New England. Students of the Boston area should note especially the chapters on the makers of "Charlestown ware." Good use of primary documents and explanation of forms. Checklist of potters.

Mabel M. Swan, "Boston's Carvers and Joiners." Part 1, Pre-Revolutionary, The Magazine, Antiques, 53:3 (March, 1948), 198-201. Part 2, Post-Revolutionary, The Magazine, Antiques, 53:4 (April, 1948), 281-283.

The work of Boston's furniture makers and the carvers who decorated the furniture and did other distinctive carving such as figureheads. Mrs. Swan traces the working relationships between carvers and cabinetmakers and shows their gradual geographical grouping on Boston neck after the Revolution.

Leroy L. Thwing, "Deacon Shem Drown--Maker of Weathervanes," The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association, 2(September, 1937), 1-7.

The life and work of the maker of the famous Indian archer weathervane of the Province House and the grasshopper weathervane of Faneuil Hall.

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"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W. E. B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

This is an annotated bibliography for two courses offered by the Boston Public Library under the auspices of the National Endowment for the Humanities' Learning Library Program. "Revolutionary Boston, the Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" was offered by Richard L. Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University; Robert A. Gross, Assistant Professor of History and American Studies at Amherst College, taught "The American Revolution and the Common Man." The works below have been discussed under the broad divisions of Colonial Society, Political Structure, and the Revolution. The reading list is not exhaustive--rather an effort has been made only to include major works of recent vintage.

E. C. S.

Edmund S. Morgan. The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958.

This is an excellent introduction to Puritan theology and motivation, as well as a basic history of the Puritan migration and the early years of Massachusetts Bay. Morgan traces the evolution of political life through the story of Winthrop's efforts as governor and leading citizen to preserve a united community in face of increasing pressures of factionalism. Separatism and Antinomianism are elucidated by references to the lives of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. Winthrop's life provides focus for Morgan's analysis of the dilemma central to Puritan life: to be in but not precisely of the world.

John Demos. A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970. (paper)

John Demos uses physical artifacts, colony records and official accounts, quantitative techniques, and psychological and anthropological methods to produce a fascinating account of the physical conditions of Plymouth life, the roles of women and children, and the function of the family. The chapters on housing, furnishings, and clothing are painstakingly constructed to provide a framework within which the social and psychological discussion of family life is placed. Demos finds that women's legal status compared favorably to their position in European law. He finds recognition of their property rights and shared responsibility for child rearing and business affairs. Children did not face an adoles-

cent crisis: rather they gradually assumed adult roles, donning adult clothing and beginning apprenticeship around age seven, receiving civic responsibilities at sixteen, and marrying in their early to mid-twenties. The model household was nuclear in structure, although slightly larger than the modern one, and the family organized such basic societal tasks as production, education, poor relief, and worship. Demos' Puritans repressed hostility and aggression (repression necessitated in part by close living quarters) rather than sexuality. Through his emphasis on the life cycle, Demos gives the reader a good sense of the ebb and flow of rural life.

Philip J. Greven, Jr. Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970. (paper)

Philip Greven presents a dynamic model of family structure in which the family contracts and expands with population pressure and the availability of land. Unlike Demos, Greven sees a shift in the family from 'modified extended' to nuclear; Andover's social fabric was knit together by kin groups that resided in the same area, but not in the same household. Andover's remarkably long-lived first settlers established a patriarchy, ruling over the second generation and delaying the marriage and independence that could only come with a gift of land. High birth and low mortality rates for the second and third generations led to problems in providing land and livelihoods for a numerous progeny. The relative scarcity and rising cost of land between 1710 and 1750 increased social tensions, but meant that independent sons, forced to move, presided over nuclear families beyond the reach of

paternal dominance. After 1750 land prices fell, perhaps reflecting an ease in population pressure, but the fourth generation continued on an independent path, scattering more widely,marrying younger, and receiving land conveyed by deed from their fathers at an earlier age. The larger significance of this may be, as Greven hypothesizes, that independent men might have found it easier to pursue Independence.

Darrett B. Rutman. Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972. (paper)

This work contrasts the development of Boston with the ideal of an ordered, unified community that John Winthrop sought to create. Winthrop's Calvinist theology should have warned him of the impossibility of founding an all-inclusive community of Saints, and Rutman, in contrast to Morgan (cited above), finds sources of discord present almost from the beginning. Political and religious society diverged as the ideal unity of church, state, and the propertied shattered. Church membership became the exclusive domain of the saved, and Boston life became more oriented toward the Atlantic as men of commercial outlook took up residence. The creation of new terms such as "inhabitant" and "sojourner" mirrored this fragmentation as the town sought to provide its new residents with some sort of legal status. Even the flock scattered, as within the church members segregated themselves from the nonmembers legally obliged to attend services. Rutman finds that while Winthrop wanted to establish a community medieval in character, his Boston embodied values of materialism, secularism, and individualism which distinguish a modern society.

G. B. Warden. Boston: 1689-1776. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970.

This is a narrative political history, well organized and nicely written, but without any clear thesis. The author takes the reader from the rebellion of 1689 against Governor Andros and the Dominion of New England to the British evacuation of Boston in 1776. In between we encounter descriptions of town life, political battles over marketplace regulations and currency, a smallpox epidemic, and the efforts of Boston's merchants to dominate the town's politics. Most interesting is Warden's discussion of Elisha Cooke, Jr.'s political machine, the Boston Caucus, in operation perhaps as early as 1719. The members of the Caucus probably convinced voters by liberal applications of rum and underassessment of property, and the Caucus was one means of unifying the town in the absence of other institutions. Warden guides the reader through the intricacies of the Land Bank controversy and the efforts to place Massachusetts currency on a sound basis. The last chapters of the book retell events from the Stamp Act crisis to the Revolution, again in excellent narrative fashion, but they add little new in material or interpretation to our knowledge of the period.

Kenneth A. Lockridge. A New England Town: The First Hundred Years. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1970. (paper)

The history of Dedham is one of declension: a utopian community carefully planted in the wilderness gradually dissolves into a town of outlivers, where inhabitants with competing beliefs worship in separate meeting-houses, and carry muskets to town meetings where consensus formerly

reigned. The closed, corporate, Christian community, presided over by an oligarchy of wealth, wisdom and age, becomes characterized in 1730 by squabbling interests and suspicious towns-people who frequently turn out incumbent selectmen.

The dispersal of the second and third generations of Dedham families into different portions of the original grant led to disputes over the minister's salary for services at a meeting-house inconvenient to attend, as well as over the building of roads and the representation of sectional interests on the Board of Selectmen. Petitions for separation into new townships signified the final dissolution of utopian and communitarian bonds. In addition, land had become a dearer commodity: the practice of partible inheritance over several generations left little to be divided among the fifth or sixth generations. They faced the bitter choice of moving on into an uncertain future or clinging to an increasingly hostile past. A submerged class of laborers appeared, land-less and voiceless in a society where property meant independence and the right to vote. Meanwhile, New England society was moving away from its corporate, peasant roots and toward new values of pluralism and individualism. In sum, Lockridge presents a view of a premodern society disrupted by powerful demographic forces and channeled into new patterns of life and thought.

Michael Zuckerman. Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. (paper)

After the new royal charter was bestowed upon Massachusetts Bay in 1691, central authority became geographically and psychologically more distant from the towns. The locus of authority shifted to the town, and representatives to the General Assembly became more closely tied to town

interests. Zuckerman argues the nature of representation then changed from virtual to actual: the Assembly became a more representative and less deliberative body.

Within the town, consensual values were supported by Puritan theology, which held that any passage of Scripture could be interpreted in only one way that all reasonable men would agree upon. Dissent in religion or politics was heresy and both public and religious policy was designed to encourage repentance and subsequent absolution. Ties of community and friendship, rather than litigation, mediated conflict, and political issues were resolved over back fences and in taverns rather than by vote at the town meeting. "Consensual communalism" brought all independent men (white heads-of-household with sufficient property) into the decision-making process, which Zuckerman holds was not dominated by an elite.

In Zuckerman's study, eighteenth-century New England towns are static entities. There are no outlivers, no heavings out, no litigation, no religious dissension, no land scarcity, no population pressures, nothing of the social crises found by the local historians [see Greven and Lockridge, cited above; also, Richard Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970)]. Evidence seems clear from other sources that local politics were indeed dominated by a few families, although their control gradually loosened [see John J. Waters, Jr., cited below; also Kenneth A. Lockridge and Alan Kreider, "The Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government, 1640-1740," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d. Ser., XXIII (1966), 549-574]. Zuckerman's greatest contribution is his emphasis on consensual values within the towns-- but the illegitimacy of dissent

should not be mistaken for an absence of conflict. Although New England towns may have been "kingdoms," evidence indicates they were hardly peaceable.

Kenneth Lockridge, "Land, Population and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1790," Past and Present, 39(1968), 62-80.

James Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXII (1965), 75-92.

Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXVIII (1971), 375-412.

G. B. Warden, "Inequality and Instability in Eighteenth-Century Boston: A Reappraisal," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VI No. 4 (Spring, 1976), 585-620.

Gary B. Nash, "Urban Wealth and Poverty in Pre-Revolutionary America," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VI No. 4 (Spring, 1976), 545-584.

Kenneth Lockridge presents the thesis that New Englanders experienced land scarcity in the eighteenth century. Average land holdings fell, drastically in such settlements as Watertown where the average fell to 17 acres per man, or one-seventh the amount held in the 1630s. At the same time land values in Suffolk County often doubled or tripled between 1660 and 1760. Records reveal increasing amounts of "worn land" while the number of people warned out of towns rises dramatically after 1700. The total picture is one of a finite land supply balanced against a growing population forced to cultivate marginal lands or migrate. Lockridge postulates that these trends caused the development of an agricultural proletariat and aroused fears of the Europeanization of American society.

James Henretta offers further evidence for the Europeanization thesis in his article on Boston. Using tax lists of 1687 and 1771, Henretta shows that wealth was fairly evenly distributed at the end of the seventeenth century, but that by 1771 a large lower class of propertyless had emerged, the middling groups had suffered a decline and wealth was concentrating in the hands of a few. The growth of a small group of "merchant princes" characterized a more rigidly stratified social order, and, as Allan Kulikoff indicates, the Revolution did nothing to reverse this trend. The sale of loyalist estates in Suffolk County had little effect on wealth distribution: Kulikoff suggests that a wealthy group of Tories had been replaced by an equally wealthy group of patriots. In addition, the proportion of poor in the population slowly increased in Boston from 7 percent in 1771 to 10 percent in 1790. Political office, generally dominated by an elite in the pre-Revolutionary period, remained their domain after the Revolution as well. If men went to war in 1775 with hopes of creating a more egalitarian society the evidence from Boston at least indicates they would have been disappointed at the result.

G. B. Warden has offered a critique of the premises on which the preceding articles are based. He notes that information on land scarcity comes almost exclusively from Suffolk County and fails to account for a possible shift from subsistance to commercial farming in response to the Boston market. His most telling point is scored in his criticism of the use of two data sources as widely separated as the 1687 and 1771 tax lists. Warden examines Boston's growth decennially, and finds "variable instability" rather than the rapid economic growth Henretta suggests. He also explains the political nature of the tax schedules, as a listing of the political allocation of the tax

burden rather than as an accurate reflection of wealth distribution (Warden argues in Boston: 1689-1776, cited above, that tax assessors were a part of the Boston Caucus machine). In addition, whereas real property tended to be greatly underassessed, commercial property was assessed at full value, further adding to the unreliability of Henretta's sources. The commercial wealth reflected in these lists, Warden adds, was often only paper--the ephemeral product of speculation. The author also maintains that more numerous warnings out do not necessarily mean increasing poverty, and his finding that the correlation between wealth and political office is weak rounds out his attack.

Gary Nash attempts to refute Warden's analysis. He finds the 1771 tax list biased in favor of equality: Warden does not emphasize that land holdings were charged to renters, not owners, and that nearly one thousand adults were omitted as too poor. Nash discovers a dramatic increase in both warnings out and the expenditures for poor relief, while his study of probate records indicates that the share of wealth held by the top five percent of Boston's population nearly doubled between 1684 and 1775. Nash's scope is much broader than that of other historians discussed here since he gathered evidence from several colonial cities, and he concludes that poverty embraced "at least" one fifth of heads of household in seaport cities on the eve of the Revolution. Unsettled economic conditions and the collapse of the mercantile system after the Seven Years War struck all colonial cities and all inhabitants, but affected the poor and the artisans the most.

While Warden's efforts stand as a useful caution to historians to examine the social context of the material they quantify, his work shakes but does not seriously weaken the edifice of increas-

ing Europeanization of eighteenth-century American society erected by recent historians.

James A. Henretta. The Evolution of American Society, 1700-1815. Lexington: D. C.Heath, 1973. (paper)

This is an ambitiously conceived synthetic work tracing the development of social structure, the economy, and domestic and imperial politics in the course of the eighteenth century. Henretta is at his best in his chapter on northern society, especially in his analysis of time in its annual, familial, and ecological context. Henretta also discusses the imperial trading system and the interconnections of the colonial economies, including that of the West Indies. Slavery is examined from a comparative viewpoint, and Henretta analyzes the failure of the southern economy to diversify and develop. The roots of a new personality structure, termed the "rational entrepreneur," are traced, and the evolution of politics from personal and familial factions to relatively permanent interest groups is examined.

Ethnic diversity and conflicts, and religious turmoil provide the backdrop for the crisis in imperial affairs, while fissures in the traditional elite allowed the release of pressures that took an anti-imperial form. The numerous post-war conflicts over currency and debts are placed in the context of an on-going struggle between small western agrarian capitalists and eastern commercial, industrial, and financial entrepreneurs. The discussion of modernization centers around an acute analysis of the growth of a market economy and a republican ideology. The author concludes his study with the coming of a northern industrial system and the redefinition of personal life from vertical institutions of church, family and community to hori-

zontal ones of class and social status.

The book includes enough graphs and charts to gladden any quantifier's heart, but sometimes they seem only peripherally related to the text. The organization of material within the chapter headings will not be immediately clear to the reader, since Henretta gets caught somewhere between a topical and a chronological approach. The resulting confusion is not helped by the effort to cover such broad themes over such a large expanse of time in a slim 226 pages.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Robert Zemsky. Merchants, Farmers and River Gods. Boston: Gambit, 1971.

Robert Zemsky offers us an analysis of Massachusetts political structure in the mid-eighteenth century. The author provides excellent thumbnail sketches of such Massachusetts political leaders as Robert Hale, John Adams, and Thomas Hancock, and includes a very helpful statistical appendix. Zemsky lays bare the inner workings of political alliances, greased by militia commissions and military contracts. While Zemsky's account of the political process is informed by an imaginative use of works of political theory, occasionally this leads him to an unfortunate presentism. He tends to overemphasize the professionalism and underemphasize the deference more characteristic of eighteenth-century politics. Massachusetts politics remained an affair of an elite, who were often Harvard-educated, eastern, former justices-of-the-peace, until some matter threatening to the forces of localism aroused the provincial backbenchers from their usual lethargy. Zemsky's ambition is to show us a stable Massachusetts, one normally un-

seen through the distorting prism of an inevitable Revolution. Here the author's reach exceeds his grasp. An emphasis on political structure alone necessarily yields a unidimensional picture and the author does not realize that a static study doth not a stable Massachusetts make.

Stephen E. Patterson. Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973.

The author convincingly demonstrates that a graphic east-west, commercial-agrarian split in Massachusetts emerged full blown in the debates over the constitutions of 1778 and 1780. This division developed gradually after 1774 as the agrarian towns became increasingly politicized and drawn into the vortex of provincial affairs, while sending up to Boston a resounding backwoods chorus for a democratized political system. The rhetoric of republicanism, Patterson finds, reflected an emerging reality of a pluralistic society.

Patterson, however, is far from convincing in his contention that "parties" existed in provincial and revolutionary Massachusetts. Robert Zemsky (cited above) has shown that the backbenchers remained apathetic, leaving political debate and activity to the leadership. Some men gathered around the governor's patronage, but there is little evidence that the shifting alliances of representatives ever coalesced into anything resembling parties. The towns Patterson terms "country" share few ecological variables and little distinguishes them from their "court" counterparts. Both of these types of towns supported the 1780 constitution, in opposition to western settlements, and political conflict appears to

have been basically sectional in orientation.

A problem basic to the book is that Patterson never defines what he means by party, and although the work provides a carefully researched survey of the Massachusetts political landscape and the machinations surrounding the adoption of the 1780 constitution, the author's thesis is never substantiated and the title is a misnomer.

John J. Waters, Jr. The Otis Family: In Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975. (paper)

John Waters indicates that kinship patterns are one important element in political structure in colonial Massachusetts. He traces the rise of the Otis family to dominance in Barnstable, and illustrates how they made and broke political alliances on the provincial level in order to serve familial purposes. Massachusetts politics in this view is dominated not by parties, but by individuals who reigned over their bailiwicks. Personal animosities could run deep, as evidenced by James Otis Sr.'s belief in 1757 that Thomas Hutchinson and the Olivers had kept him off the Governor's Council. James Otis Jr. inherited his father's rancor, which was fueled by Governor Bernard's 1760 appointment of Thomas Hutchinson as Chief Justice, a post the elder Otis had also coveted. While too much can be made of the feud and Otis' vow to avenge his family's honor, it is a good example of how bitter rivalries among political clans affected local and imperial loyalties. When British policy played into this volatile mixture, adept politicians such as James Otis, Jr., John Adams, and Sam Adams could make use of it to send the Governor's friends reeling, as in the aftermath of the Stamp Act.

Waters concludes that the younger Otis's erratic behavior was the product of more than just mental instability--Otis was more moderate than Sam Adams, and while championing non-importation, he remained unable to confront the imperial authority, a beating at the hands of Customs Commissioner John Robinson, and the growing popularity of other figures in the patriot movement, all contributed to Otis's later mental unhinging and political eclipse. Joseph and Samuel Allyne Otis continued the family's trading and political ventures, but with diminishing success. The Otises, elite leaders of the Revolution, wrestled for power with the Tories and neutralists who better represented Barnstable opinion. They probably did not enjoy the irony that the republican ideology unleashed by the Revolution they supported meant an end to their style of familial politics.

Edmund and Helen Morgan. The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution. New York: Collier Books, 1962. (paper)

This book is intended to provide a sense of balance about the American Revolution--with the single exception of Daniel Dulany, it is an account of royal officials and conservative men whose lives the Stamp Act crisis swept up and whirled away. The Morgans review the circumstances around the devising of the Sugar Act, with its promise of a stamp act to come, and find Lord Grenville's offer of a year's grace for the colonists to formulate their own tax plan to be a hoax. While he proposed that the colonies make voluntary contributions, he never raised the issue officially or gave them an idea of the amount desired. Although Francis Bernard and Thomas Hutchinson opposed the Stamp

Act, they were required by virtue of their public positions to enforce it once the bill became law. Jared Ingersoll and John Hughes seized positions as Stamp Act Collectors only to find themselves off course from their fellow Americans, and unable or unwilling to sail with the popular wind. One major result of the Stamp Act Crisis was the destruction of the prestige of conservative men such as these, who might have moderated the colonists' actions in the years that followed.

In Parliament, proponents of repeal, aided and abetted by a wily Benjamin Franklin, presented the colonists as objecting to internal taxation only. In fact, the colonists consistently denied Parliament's right to levy any taxes on them but such a bold resistance to Parliamentary authority would have been found intolerable. On the other hand, the Declaratory Act passed by Parliament merely restated Parliamentary authority; members of Parliament understood that to include the right to tax, even though it was not expressly stated. The colonists, overjoyed at repeal, were allowed to misunderstand Parliament's intentions. Thus the stage was set for future misunderstanding and conflict: Parliament would levy presumably unobjectionable "external" taxes (duties to raise revenue), which the colonists would find a violation of Parliament's good faith. The discrediting of moderate men meant that little would be done to correct these misconceptions, and while Parliament saw the colonies marching toward independence, the colonists perceived a Parliamentary conspiracy to enslave them.

While on many counts an excellent work, The Stamp Act Crisis leaves the reader with the impression that the colonies were, like a gun, primed and ready to be fired at any time after

1765. The Morgans leave little room for the developments of the next ten years and a more gradual disintegration of ties of loyalty. The authors view the conservatives' fall from places of influence as a crucial event--without asking how these men could have been more successful in tempering colonial actions in 1775 than they were in 1765. Finally, the people, the stuff of the Revolution, are presented as an inert, mindless mass, awaiting arousal by cabals of independence-plotting men like Sam Adams. One wonders how such a people could have sustained the Revolution.

Hiller B. Zobel. The Boston Massacre. New York: W. W. Norton, 1970. (paper)

The first chapters of the book cover the usual background material on the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Customs Commissioners, and the Liberty riot. Zobel's use of court records, as well as his legal training, inform his work, especially an excellent discussion of the mob which tore down Thomas Hutchinson's house. The author describes a series of violent confrontations, each vividly and painstakingly recreated, to build a crescendo of violence in which the Boston Massacre is the final chord. The gradual breakdown of law, the helplessness of officials, and the transfer of authority from province and town officials to the Sons-of-Liberty-led mobs form the framework within which the violence occurs. Disorder is magnified, however, by Zobel's reliance on elite and Tory sources, and he follows the traditional line that sees the Boston crowd as actuated by Sam Adams' propaganda machine. In addition, many chapters are sharply sketched vignettes, but are not interwoven into the narrative. If Zobel had drawn out the implications

of the massacre for Boston in the years subsequent to it, the book would have contributed more to our knowledge of the period. Did the calm before the Tea Party perhaps result from the sobering effects of the killings? However, for the violent events of 1765-1770 and for the analysis of the massacre trials, the book is likely to remain the definitive work.

Benjamin Woods Labaree. The Boston Tea Party. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. (paper)

The Boston Tea Party was the catalyst in overturning the calm of 1771-1773. The anger it aroused in England caused the Ministry to throw caution to the winds in imposing the Coercive Acts upon Massachusetts, an action which in turn resounded alarms through the colonial countryside. Although the Tea Party found few defenders outside of Boston, the Coercive Acts awoke the other colonies to the threat posed against chartered liberty (see David Ammerman, cited below). Benjamin Labaree traces the background of the tea duty that brewed so much trouble in 1773; he includes chapters on the use of tea, British economic policy, the reorganization of the East India Company, and on the fateful decision itself.

In no other colony did the colonial officials and the East India Company's consignees cooperate as closely as they did in Massachusetts. The redoubtable Governor Thomas Hutchinson was unlikely to see his sons Thomas and Elisha suffer for importing East India tea; another consignee, Richard Clarke, was also tied to the Hutchinson clan through his daughter's marriage to young Thomas. Boston's radical reputation had suffered too--during the earlier non-importation agreement, it was said that Bostonians

had been more addicted to their tea than to their principles. Hutchinson's sense of duty and his familial ties, and the Bostonian's need to stand bluff in order to preserve their honor, produced a situation where no one could compromise. Labaree concludes that the Tea Party and the Coercive Acts revived discussions of colonial rights as rumors of an Anglican establishment, crown salaries for colonial officials, and even taxation had not. With implimentation of the Coercive Acts, the disintegration of British authority was near.

Esther Forbes. Paul Revere and the World He Lived In. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941 (paper).

This is a colorfully written, sympathetic account of the life and times of Paul Revere. Forbes designed the book for a popular audience, a source of both its strengths and its weaknesses. It includes much anecdotal material, but little of use to the serious student; there are many undocumented assertions, such as blanket statements about the possibility of achieving success, and a mixing of fact and fable. The book finds it worth in the warm and personable Paul Revere who emerges from its pages. Forbes finds him a modern man, not out of tune with changing times, able to go from craftsman to entrepreneur, and stepping comfortably from the eighteenth into the nineteenth centuries. The author includes details of all the famous exploits of Boston's Revolutionary generation, and has a fine eye for character sketches. But a Pulitzer Prize for history?

Pauline Maier, "Coming to Terms With Samuel Adams," American Historical Review, Vol. 81, No. 1 (February, 1976), 12-37.

Sam Adams, the fomenter of revolution, the minister of independence, and the Svengali of the Boston mob, is more the product of historical fiction than fact according to Professor Maier. Adams did not move toward independence at a significantly faster pace than many of his contemporaries; and he could hardly manipulate public opinion to favor a goal he did not yet espouse. Adams acquired his reputation as the Revolution became transformed into a more conservative War for Independence. Symbols of resistance to authority had to be cleansed, forgotten, or clothed in pejorative garb in order to fit into the national mythology. Adams, described by Edward Everett as "the last of the Puritans," was an ascetic revolutionary, cold and austere, someone whom later generations would have found difficulty sympathizing with, even without the distortion surrounding his career. Maier here reclaims him as an important part of our revolutionary past.

Pauline Maier. From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776. New York: Random House, 1972. (paper)

A discussion of the extra-institutional character of mobs in English tradition, and a chapter on the ideology of the Commonwealth-men provide the background for this work on the growth of radical resistance to Britain. Maier goes on to describe colonial actions from the Stamp Act riots to the final dissolution of imperial ties in 1776 as corresponding to the Whig theory

of escalating resistance to encroaching tyranny. The Americans did not oppose authority, but rather the men who exercised it wantonly; they gradually developed extra-governmental structures, such as the committees of safety, to maintain an ordered society while creating a revolution.

The Americans viewed the crisis in imperial affairs as the result of a conspiracy among venal men, first limited to British colonial officials, then expanding to the Ministry and gradually encompassing Parliament, and finally centering on the King himself. The English people proved too corrupt to defend their own liberty, and as liberty's last best hope, the Americans rebelled.

The one flaw in this otherwise masterful monograph is Maier's inability to fit some of the colonial mobs into her ideological typology. The attack on Thomas Hutchinson's house during the Stamp Act crisis is dismissed as the work of a conspiracy of merchants. The Liberty riot and the Boston Massacre caught patriot leaders by surprise. The Sons of Liberty used these riots to illustrate the results of British tyranny, but refused to defend the violence. The possibility that these riots were the workings of the mob in response to class-conscious grievances is hinted at but unfortunately never explored. They remain loose ends in this otherwise neatly tied intellectual package.

THE REVOLUTION

Gordon S. Wood, "Rhetoric and Reality in the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXIII No. 1 (January, 1966), 3-32.

Wood here reviews the historiography of the

American Revolution, and suggests new areas where research is necessary. He proposes that the idealist and behavioralist schools of historical thinking merge in order to present a view of the Revolution in which we see men's ideas as they corresponded to their social circumstances.

The Progressive school of historians, which found ideas ancilliary to materialist (often economic) motives, was replaced by a neo-Whig school which defended the high ideals of the colonists and emphasized the role of ideas in the coming of the Revolution. They found no evidence of base self-interest or class conflict; rather Americans fought for abstractions such as liberty. Bernard Bailyn has carried this position to its pinnacle, examining not only statements of constitutional principle, but also the more extravagant and paranoid modes of thought as well. According to his view, ideas take on a life of their own and bring men to conclusions that were initially only partially visible or completely unforeseen. Wood finds that the vitality of hysterical thought indicates the existence of social tensions idealist historians have missed. While rhetoric might not reveal what was factually real, it does tell us what for the colonists was "psychologically true" (p. 31). Wood concludes, "only the most revolutionary social needs and circumstances would have sustained such revolutionary ideas" (p. 25).

Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXIV No. 1 (January, 1967), 3-43.

Morgan offers an interpretation of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period in which Americans are motivated to defend a Puritan

Ethic of frugality, simplicity, industry, and concern for the common good. Britain violated this Ethic through uncontrolled Parliamentary taxation, which attacked property, the source of liberty, as well as the virtues of frugality and industry that allowed men to accumulate their wealth. Gradually Americans became convinced that separation from England was the only means of staving off this assault.

Independence, however, did not bring a respite from encroaching corruption. Commerce depended on desire for luxury (the antithesis of frugality and simplicity), and merchants were suspected as exploiters of people's weaknesses. Southerners as well as northerners attacked slavery--if only because it threatened to undermine the master's industry. Within the Continental Congress, suspicion of cosmopolitan financiers, who were accused of placing profit before patriotism, was a source of division even as each side claimed adherence to Puritan virtues. In the 1790s and after, the Puritan Ethic provided the terms for a political consensus: each party could mourn its decline, and proclaim itself the exemplar of what was left. Finally Morgan finds the Puritan Ethic one force behind the formation of a federal government. State governments had sought unsuccessfully to dam the flood of British manufactured goods into America. Luxury and dependence on England were afoot once more, and it was thought only a national government could encourage American manufacturing and secure economic independence.

Morgan emphasizes the Puritan Ethic rather than English Whig tradition as the intellectual source of the American Revolution. The article as such is a good example of an idealist

interpretation of history, and the reader will find it convincing to the degree to which he believes that ideas, independent of material circumstances, move men.

Bernard Bailyn. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. (paper)

Bailyn maintains that the crisis of the 1760s forced Americans to confront changes in society and politics that demanded the formulation of a new ideology. Traditional ideas of sovereignty, representation, rights, constitutions, and the role of rulers were revised in light of American experience. In a sense, Americans went to war in 1775 to defend a Revolution that had already occurred.

The Americans' ideology was an amalgam of many sources: the classics, English legal thought, Puritan theology, the Enlightenment, and the Commonwealth period's radical traditions. Americans' knowledge of history and philosophy convinced them of liberty's frail nature which had to be safeguarded against power's corruptions. Seen through these ideological eyes, events after 1765 took on an ominous form. Parliament's actions convinced the colonists that a Ministerial plot had been hatched to deprive them of their liberty. When the source of this conspiracy was traced upward to include the King, revolution became necessary since there were no other means to redress their grievances.

The experience of articulating their beliefs led the colonists to find new sources for sovreignty, and to divide power in such a way as to prevent its usurpation of liberty. Government became limited and laws were examined

against a Constitution that had become a written set of principles. In his final chapter, Bailyn discusses the repercussions of this new ideology on American thinking about slavery, the establishment of religion, and hierarchy and authority in society. In sum, Bailyn explores the parameters of the colonial worldview and traces the roots of an ideological revolution.

Bernard Bailyn. The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974. (paper)

This is a sympathetically written, masterful biography of a political conservative, unable to operate in a realm of passionate ideological politics. Hutchinson was a practical politician, at ease in the factional strife of provincial Massachusetts, and he accepted completely the terms of a traditional political world. When that world was condemned as tyrannous and corrupt, Hutchinson could only respond with a reasoned defense of the premises around which his life had been based. He was perpetually caught in the middle: although he opposed the Stamp Act, he believed in the rule of law and found repugnant the extra-legal measures used against it; he did not want troops quartered in Boston, but after the Boston Massacre, he agonized and ordered them out, an act which exceeded his authority; he wished to decline the governorship, but could not do so for fear of embarassing his English patrons; a scrupulously honest man, he was forced by circumstances to act deceitfully. Pursuit of position and power led to Hutchinson's entrapment between increasingly radical colonists, who viewed the governor as the principal in a conspiracy against

American liberty, and his distant superiors, who vacillated in their attempts to resolve a constitutional crisis. Hutchinson's two articles of faith, that America must remain tied to England in order to preserve her liberty, and that sovereignty lay indivisibly with the King in Parliament, were becoming heretical to his fellow colonists. The tragedy of Thomas Hutchinson was that, equipped so well he still became swept up by forces of history that rendered his political beacons useless. Quintessentially American, he ended his life in lonely exile.

David Ammerman. In the Common Cause: American Response to the Coercive Acts of 1774. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975. (paper)

Ammerman finds that the Coercive Acts created an unprecedented consensus among Americans. The Continental Congress was remarkably unanimous in supporting the non-importation agreement and divided seriously only over constitutional questions concerning the role of the colonies in the imperial system. The chief item of dispute, then, was Parliament's authority to regulate colonial trade, with many delegates opposing a blanket assertion of that right.

Pennsylvanian Joseph Galloway later declared that the Congress was seriously divided, with a small radical contingent that manipulated the moderates into supporting the Suffolk Resolves and other radical measures. Galloway maintained that his Plan of Union, proposing an American Congress sharing authority with Parliament over the colonies, was defeated by one vote and later expunged from the records, and historians since have cited his recollections

as accurate. Ammerman finds, however, that Galloway's plan was never seriously considered--six colonies agreed that it might be discussed at a later date, and five wanted to reject it immediately. Furthermore, only measures actually adopted found their way into the records, and suggestions for arming colonial troops, along with Galloway's Plan, went unrecorded.

Ammerman concludes that the First Continental Congress was more unanimous and more radical than heretofore believed. Overturning traditional caveats about the depth of American consensus in opposing British measures in 1774, however, should raise questions about the divisiveness of the war years. Why were Whig leaders unable to translate this consensus into action against the British? Ammerman's sources--diaries, newspaper, letters--reveal little about the embattled farmers who would actually fight. Assumptions of consensus among the colonists are not proven by evidence of consensus within the Continental Congress or among colonial leaders.

Richard D. Brown. Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774. New York: W. W. Norton, 1976. (paper)

Brown finds local affairs primary in Massachusetts political consciousness, and he suggests that disputes between the Assembly and the Governor over salary and other issues took place in an atmosphere of stability. The Stamp Act exposed the brittle nature of this balance, however, as in its aftermath the Whigs purged their opponents, while the governor battled to save his administration through patronage. Boston led but did not create opposition to the Stamp

Act: Massachusetts was already "tinged with Radical Whiggery" (p. 23). The function of the Boston Committee of Correspondence as it developed was to organize the expression of these sentiments.

Proposals for Crown salaries for the governor and judges provided the Boston opposition in 1772, especially Sam Adams and the radical itinerant, Dr. Thomas Young, with issues around which the committee could be organized. Called into being by the Boston town meeting, the Boston Committee prepared a statement of rights and grievances which it circulated among the towns. Brown discovered that the Boston Committee carefully wooed town opinion and cultivated local pride--but the wide range of response "from silent repudiation to admiring applause" (p. 120) reveals an independent spirit that would have resisted any attempted manipulation. The BCC may have been evangelical in its message, but the body to which it preached already included many faithful.

As the towns indicated their support, the role of the Boston Committee shifted, first to one of co-ordinating local activity, then to one of arousing other colonies. The independence of towns newly drawn into provincial affairs is seen in their rejection of the Solemn League and Covenant proposed by the Boston Committee. Provisions for an immediate non-importation agreement, enforced by a stringent secondary boycott, proved too divisive for the towns to endorse. Local unity and the preservation of order remained their priorities, as they implicitly rejected Boston's leadership.

The Boston Committee had served its purpose, however, Brown concludes it had played an integrating role in Massachusetts politics. While

localism still reigned, an awareness of and participation in larger concerns had occurred. The Committee encouraged the towns to formulate an ideology of the sovereignty of the people on which republican government would be based. It was a lasting and revolutionary achievement.

Kenneth Lockridge, "Social Change and the Meaning of the American Revolution," Journal of Social History, 6(1973), 403-439.

Kenneth Lockridge offers a social hypothesis for the origins of the American Revolution. He finds that colonial society after 1720 undergoes some of the throes of modernization but without an attendant increase in per capita production or income. Population growth, higher population densities, an increased rate of immigration, commercialization, and concentration of wealth led to social differentiation and some measure of social polarization. Commercialization occurred unevenly, which heightened sectional differences as well; the sum of these changes meant an increase in wealth for a few and deteriorating social conditions for many.

Lockridge hypothesizes that these social permutations created increased demands on the political system. Certain regions would be sensitive to trends like the concentration of wealth, the decline in social equality and opportunity, and increasing dependence; the commercial-non-commercial regional split in politics may have been the result. In a society of small homogeneous, relatively independent towns these changes would appear to be "catastrophic alterations of an idyllic and holy past" (p. 424). To peopl caught up by these forces, pleas for virtue and sermons against corruption could have struck a responsive chord--and the Revolution may have

seemed a way to restore the past.

The traditional elite would have found their position threatened by new demands on their mediating roles. Their wealth may have made them suspect, as their interests would obviously be different from those of their neighbors. The constitutional crisis with Britain would supply these men with an opportunity to regain credibility, however. Lockridge suggests that modern men, cosmopolitans who were ready by training and experience to accept a pluralistic world of the sort described by James Madison in Federalist No. 10, would supply leadership in the creation of the Constitution and in the new nation. The Constitution can be viewed as a uniquely modern document--one "designed to accomodate contending interests" (p. 436). America, he concludes, had ideologically modernized as a result of the Revolution and the social strains of the eighteenth century. The chief drawback of this model, as Lockridge admits, is that it may not be applicable outside of New England. However, it is a further step in placing the Revolution and the growth of republican ideology within their social contexts.

Robert A. Gross. The Minutemen and Their World. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976. (paper).

Life in provincial Concord ticked to a seasonal clock. Men's horizons were limited to the fields they plowed and to the markets in which they sold their produce. The political issues that aroused the town more often than not had to do with keeping one man's cattle out of another man's field; provincial affairs rarely impinged upon the town, and when they did, men wiser in the ways of the world than the common folk could be trusted to make the right deci-

sions. Existence, if not idyllic, was at least habitual.

Concord was not, however, a peaceable kingdom; it was beset by troubles like those found by Lockridge in Dedham and Greven in Andover (both cited above): a scarcity of land, and the resulting necessity for men of modest means to see their children remain and become part of a lower class, move to new settlements, or spend a life in transience; sparring between the generations; the declining productivity of worn-out acres; religious dissension; and demands by "outlivers" for a larger share of the town budget or the right to make their own town. Stamp acts and tea duties often seemed peripheral issues in this local world. But the loss of town meeting rights did not; nor did the "hordes of placemen" who, according to Whig rhetoric, were coming to feast at the colonists' tables. Concord's independence and localism were threatened, and the townspeople organized to save them. Resistance to Britain also offered, for a while at least, a means of healing the divisions within the town.

The war began as a community effort--the militia was a microcosm of town society--but ended as an affair of the poor. Farmers could hardly afford to let their farms go untended or be left to the exclusive care of their womenfolk; but men of means could hire substitutes to take a British ball in their stead. Wartime inflation and scarcity also disrupted patriotic unity.

Life after the Revolution changed little for women and blacks; a few men still dominated office-holding--although they were expected to follow instructions and represent town interests as defined by the town meeting. Concord also would no longer be as isolated as it had been in the past. A measure of pluralism was

introduced by men who had experienced something of the world, and Boston would play a larger role in Concord's life. Gross concludes that men had gone to war in 1775 to halt the process of change; the war however accelerated that pace, and Concord would be reluctantly drawn out of its eddy and into the stream of modern life.

The most remarkable feature of this meticulously researched and elegantly written book is the wealth of detail the author has unearthed about Concord and its people. This is more than a local history, however. The book answers Gordon Wood's call to investigate the social circumstances that underlay colonial rhetoric. Gross has succeeded in linking the all-too-often divergent realms of ideology and experience, and in describing the metamorphosis of a pre-modern community.

Alfred F. Young (ed.). The American Revolution. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976. (paper)

This collection of essays is a refreshing antidote to the overly ideological and history-from-the-top-down approaches of many historians. Here we see the urban mob as the shock troops of the Revolution, sometimes pushed by Whig leadership and sometimes pushing it, using the crisis in imperial affairs to express their own grievances about the operation of society. They share in a popular culture, perhaps a mixture of evangelism and rational republicanism, quite independent from and yet occasionally merging with Whig ideology. Society's disaffected--tenant farmers, country backwoodsmen, blacks--remained suspicious of and sometimes hostile to an Independence movement led by the local gentry. Blacks were more interested in freedom

than Independence, freedom which could be gotten by fighting for the British or by taking advantage of war's turmoil and stealing away. Blacks basked for a moment in the ideological sunshine of "all men are created equal" before being slammed back into the shadows of slavery and a pervasive racism. To women the Revolution was largely irrelevant; to Indians it was disaster. But whether Tory, Patriot, or neutral, "the classes that are acted upon" emerge here as the actors, and that, despite the uneven quality of the essays, should recommend this volume.

Gordon S. Wood. The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787. New York: W. W. Norton, 1969. (paper)

Gordon Wood describes how the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary experience transformed the intellectual tools of the rebels of 1776. Traditional Whig concepts of Parliamentary sovereignty, mixed government, a deliberative legislative body, and the need for republican virtue became the sovereignty of the people, the separation of powers, a representative legislative body, and a balance of conflict among self-interested men from which the public good would emerge.

The most important changes occurred in the people's role in government. Formerly merely embodied in the Commons of Parliament, the people in Federalist theory were embodied in the entire government, but remained superior to it, as the source of sovereignty. Power and liberty were no longer locked in conflict: power flowed from the people and was separated and lodged in the different branches of govern-

ment, whose actions could be judged against a written Constitution. Government no longer represented society's different estates, but in a modern conception of society and politics, it was an arena in which different interest groups conflicted. Wood's achievement is his analysis of how American reality and Whig rhetoric interacted to produce a new, though often inchoate, synthesis, termed the "American science of politics."

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Boston An Urban Community

Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois

An Annotated Reading List
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Hugh M. Jenkins
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"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College. November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

During the fall of 1975 and on into the first month of 1976 Dr. William Robinson, Chairman of the Black Studies Program at Rhode Island College, presented a sequence of lectures on the black literary heritage of Boston, for the NEH Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library. Professor Robinson focused on Boston in particular and New England in general and occasionally mentioned national and international connections as well. Figures of primary interest were Phillis Wheatley from the Colonial period, William Wells Brown of the nineteenth century, W.E.B. DuBois and William Stanley Braithwaite of the earlier twentieth century, and a number of modern novelists including Dorothy West and Bryant Rollins. The governing assumption of the sequence was that the various permutations in style and content of black Boston literature would be a useful index to the cultural and social life of the Boston community, both white and black. The following reading list is intended to introduce selected works which we hope will stimulate interest in the subject and lead the reader to further discoveries of his or her own.

Arna Bontemps, ed. Five Black Lives. Middletown, Wesleyan University Press, 1971.

This is a collection of ex-slave narratives which span 150 years in time, from 1729 to 1870, and some thousands of miles in geographical area from Africa to Connecticut. The autobiographies include the lives of Venture Smith, Africa; James Mars, Connecticut; William Grimes, Virginia; G.W. Offrey, Maryland; James L. Smith, Virginia. These narratives are the records of black Americans suffering under the oppression of slavery until he was impelled to escape. "My freedom is a privilege which nothing else can equal" is the central theme running through the narratives.

William Stanley Braithwaite. The William Stanley Braithwaite Reader. Philip Butcher, ed. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1972.

Philip Butcher presents a study of the career and reputation of William Stanley Braithwaite, the astute black critic and talented lyric poet whose editorial work gave impetus to the New Poetry Movement. The nearly 100-page reader consists of letters and samplings of verses representing not only ethnic literature but also American literature and areas of American civilization. The Reader projects the breadth of the author's talent and knowledge, his insistence upon the dignity of black Americans when the idea was novel in America. His poems, written in a traditional nineteenth-century lyric style have nothing to do with the life of the black man at that time. Braithwaite felt that racial themes were too limiting for the artist and that they tended more toward propoganda than toward art. Undoubtedly, he was the most influential black critic of American literature.

Benjamin G. Brawley, ed. Early Negro American Writers Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

An invaluable anthology which Brawley originated in a desire to render more accessible for the student or general reader some productions of black American writings only to be found in special collections. This collection includes writings of black Americans from Jupiter Hammon who was born between 1720 and 1730 to approximately the Civil War time. Paul Lawrence Dunbar is not included in this anthology. The biographical and critical analysis which introduces each selection is excellent. One of the best sources for both the general readers and students who wish to acquaint themselves with black writers before the Civil War.

(Paperback edition available from Dover.)

_____. The Negro in Literature and Art. New York, Duffield & Co., 1918. (Also New York, Dodd and Mead, 1934.)

This book is devoted to the achievement of blacks in the field of literature and art. In separate chapters Professor Brawley gives interesting and well written sketches of Phillis Wheatley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Charles W. Chesnut, W.E.B. DuBois and William Stanley Braithwaite. In the opinion of the author, the best known black orators were Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. Other chapters in this work take up: the stage, painters, sculptors, music. There is an appendix devoted to black Americans in fiction. Though published in 1918 this work still remains an excellent source.

John Daniels. In Freedom's Birthplace. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1914. (Also reprint New York, Arno Press, 1969.)

An historical and sociological study of blacks in a Northern community, this work concentrates notably on the ghetto of Roxbury, Massachusetts. In his ten chapters, Daniels studies the slave, the patriot and the pioneer freeman. Other themes deal with the black church, the leverage of the ballot, economic achievement, and civil rights. These are typical themes that will apply to the studies of blacks in any community but the group of people and conclusion reached are quite different from almost any other community.

W.E.B. DuBois. Dusk of Dawn. New York, Harcourt Brace, 1940. (Also reprint New York, Schocken Books, 1968.)

An essay which is mostly autobiographical in nature of the noted black educator, historian, editor, writer and leader of his people in the fight against racial intolerance. A graduate of Fisk and Harvard, DuBois used his talent and skill to present the problems of prejudice and bigotry set up against the world of color. Actions taken against these restrictions are clearly presented. A penetrating and correct interpretation of black Americans and their problems by the prime mover of the black Americans. Those who are concerned about our American way of life and its future will find this account helpful.

_____. The Souls of Black Folk. Chicago, A.C. McClurg, 1903. (Also new edition, New York, Blue Heron Press, 1953.)

This literary classic undeniably holds its own among the great American books of our time. Though not widely read, no other book has had greater influence on black American thinking, and nowhere so passionately and lyrically is the black man's unique heritage and his kinship with all men described in full dimensions. This work aside from embodying a collection of historical and social essays also embodies DuBois' reply to the rhetoric and ideology of Booker T. Washington. Though written during the early part of the twentieth century in 1903, this work relating the black American experience in America is still germane today.

(Paperback editions available from Fawcett, Washington Square, and New American Library.)

_____. W.E.B. DuBois: A Reader. Meyer Weinberg, ed. New York, Harper & Row, 1970.

This anthology of essays, lectures, articles, notes and excerpts from the writings of W.E.B. DuBois--many of which have never been published before--stands as the powerful testimony of one of Black America's greatest scholars, spokesmen and organizers. Professor Weinberg has brought forth a fine comprehensive work of DuBois' writings. In this work Weinberg reveals in an extraordinary spectrum seven decades of DuBois' long, productive life as the man who helped found the Niagara Movement, the NAACP, the Pan-African Movement, black power and the Third World concept. An extensive bibliography of DuBois' published writings is included.

William Edward Farrison, William Wells Brown, Author and Reformer. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969.

This is the most complete biography available of William Wells Brown, a fugitive slave, a prominent abolitionist, whose slave narrative was among the first of its kind and one of the most popular. Self-taught, Brown was one of the first black Americans to write a novel, Clotel, to pioneer black drama, and to attempt historical writing. All of this was done in the cause of abolition and equality. Farrison's detailed and highly documented biography is a valuable addition to the series of black American biographies and autobiographies.

Lorenzo Johnston Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England. New York, Columbia University Press, 1942. (Also reprint Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1966.)

This is a comprehensive and serious study of the conditions of black Americans in Colonial New England, 1620-1776. The author brings a fuller understanding of the African slave trade, the varied occupational roles of the New England blacks and the repercussion of this trade upon blacks and the Puritan institutions. Contrary to popular views about New England slavery, Greene reveals New England's brand of slaveholding and the lucrative business developed from this traffic by some of her proudest sons--the Hancocks, the Faneuils, and the Cabots. A scholarly work and deserves a wide reading.

(Paperback edition available from Atheneum.)

Leon F. Litwack. North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Though a brief work, the author presents a scholarly volume covering such topics as the social stratification of blacks, Irish-black relations, the important role of black religious leaders, and the efforts of white and black abolitionists to improve the condition of black Americans' lives. The book certainly ranks with the major works on the history of black Americans The author's excellent bibliographical essay is of no small value.

(Paperback edition available from University of Chicago Press.)

Vernon Loggins, The Negro Author: His Development in America to 1900. New York, Columbia University Press, 1931. (Also reprint Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1964.)

A literary history which deals with the cultural development of black Americans from the period 1790 to 1900. Mr. Loggins has carefully and critically documented the works of more than two hundred black-American authors: poets, novelists, dramatists, and writers on theological and sociological subjects. The student as well as the general reader will find this book of great value for programs and studies under the rubric of black literature. An excellent classified bibliography adds much to the value of the book.

Floyd J. Miller. The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Colonization and Emigration. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1975.

The main theme of this study is black colonization and emigration during the period from 1787-1863. The author presents the various organizational efforts and the frustrations of eighteenth and nineteenth-century attempts by both black and white leaders of this ideology to lead expeditions of black Americans to resettlement colonies in Africa. The impressive documentation of this work gives assurance that this book will serve as a fundamental chronicle of the black emigration movement. The author's treatment of the leadership of Paul Cuffe and Martin R. Delany is excellent.

Benjamin Quarles. The Negro in the American Revolution. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

This monograph by Professor Quarles, an outstanding and prolific black historian, a Bostonian and a graduate of English High, deals with Black American soldiers as participants in the continental armies, the navies, the militia of the states, and their services under the British flag. A scholarly and highly objective work, as the author reveals the various roles blacks played in the Revolution--some even served as spies. Black soldiers fought not only as revolutionaries for political independence but broadened their ideology to the struggle for freedom for all men. This study enhances both black history and the central body of American history.

(Paperback edition available from Norton.)

William H. Robinson, ed. Early Black American Prose. Indianapolis, W.C. Brown, 1971.

A collection of speeches and documents of black writers of the antebellum period frequently referred to but seldom read. The author presents material that contradicts the impression that black men and women submitted quietly to their oppression. Made available are such speeches as Banneker's 1791 letter to Thomas Jefferson; Booker T. Washington's fateful 1895 Atlanta compromise; Phillis Wheatley's famous letter to "His Excellency General Washington" along with the good general's reply; and the so-called confession of Nat Turner. Besides the familiar names--Wheatley, Douglass, Walker--Professor Robinson introduces less well-known men like Job Ben Solomon, Oludah. A very useful book for black studies and American literature.

_____. Phillis Wheatley: In the Black American Beginnings. Detroit, Broadside Press, 1975.

A brief appraisal of Phillis Wheatley's promising efforts to express black opinion within the prejudices on race and the strictures of society of the colonial period. Professor Robinson presents the details of Wheatley's life and the evaluation of her poetry from adherence to neo-classicism to her achievement as a singular poet of importance. The study is well-researched on careful reading of her various writings such as poems, letters, memoirs, and personal correspondence. A very useful introductory book for black studies and American literature.

(Paperback edition available from Broadside Press.)

Dorothy Sterling, ed. Speak Out in Thunder Tones. New York, Doubleday and Co., 1973.

This is the first of Sterling's projected three-volume documentary history that reveals the intellectual effort, social/political action, and personal achievement of black Americans in the North from the Revolution to the Civil War--1787-1865. The author presents samplings of letters, diaries, essays, and newspaper articles by black writers that uncover the social and cultural life of Northern blacks and challenge familiar assumptions: "Our parents made it without any help, why can't they?" The study is divided chronologically into six divisions, each of which is illuminated with documents and photographs of the period. A useful Biographical Directory of fifty significant black men and women follows the main divisions. Speak Out in Thunder Tones is a must for mature students or as a source material for a black studies program.

Phillis Wheatley. The Poems of Phillis Wheatley. Julian D. Mason, Jr., ed. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1966.

The position of Phillis Wheatley, the first significant black writer in American literature is still the subject of revision and new interpretations. This edition makes readily available not only her well-known work but also other extant poems and letters, some of which have never been included in any previous edition. Dr. Mason devotes the introduction to defining Wheatley's place in both the black literature tradition and American literature, the main value of these poems lies in what light they may throw on Boston's enlightenment of the eighteenth century and the character of the woman who wrote them.

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INTRODUCTION

In the syllabus for his course "Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston," Professor Martin Green described the series of lectures as "A survey of the great cultural achievement of 19th-century Boston, and a study of alternative meanings and manifestations of culture during the period." More than any other city in the growing and struggling America of the last century, Boston took the life of the mind seriously: there were more books, more serious readers of books, and more writers who were accorded not only esteem, but also real positions of power in society. Many great institutions--among them the Boston Public Library itself--were the direct result of Boston's commitment to an enriched culture in this period. The course centered, however, not only upon the triumph of Boston, but also upon its failure to sustain a healthy, unified culture under the pressure of the enormous social changes of the latter part of the century. Also important were the great anti-establishment movements that grew up in the shade of and in reaction to Boston society, in particular the Transcendentalist movement.

The books in the following pages are particularly important to this approach to the fascinating subject of Boston. The central book for the course was Professor Green's own The Problem of Boston, which is described in this list.

Adams, Henry. The Education of Henry Adams. Ed. with intro. and notes by Ernest Samuels. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974.

This is the autobiography, the "Study of Twentieth-Century Multiplicity," of a distinguished historian and descendant of one of America's noblest families. William James found in it "a hodge-podge of world-fact, private fact, philosophy, irony," despite his deep admiration of the book, and Adams himself implies in it that there are necessary difficulties: "No one means all he says, and yet very few say all they mean, for words are slippery and thought is viscous." This is, then, the challenging, illuminating personal history of a man forced to come to terms with the modern world with his identity rooted by birthright in "the First Church, the Boston State House, Beacon Hill, John Hancock and John Adams, Mount Vernon Street and Quincy." The work is not only a subtle examination of Adams himself, but also the environment of his lifelong "education," including Harvard of the 1850's, England and New England during the Civil War, and the new world of Darwinism and modern science. Ernest Samuels, the premier Adams scholar of our time, has provided voluminous and informative notes for this edition, which is his definitive collation of Adams' private edition of 1907 and the public edition of 1918.

(A paperback edition is available from Houghton Mifflin.)

Ballou, Adin. Autobiography of Adin Ballou. 1803-1890. Completed and edited by his son-in-law, William S. Heywood. Lowell, Mass.: The Vox Populi Press--Thompson and Hill, 1896.

"I have not been a man of much popular success, but in several respects a failure." Indeed, the principal causes espoused by Adin Ballou, the community of Hopedale and his campaign for "non-resistance," the religious noncooperation with the established government or any other medium for violence, did end in failure. The man is not to be judged by his "popular" success, however, and although this book has a musty and forbidding look to it, its pages reveal a vibrant and intensely interesting personality who brings to vigorous life his own development and the course of the religious reform movement in which he played a central part. When Ballou was nineteen years old he experienced a "memorable and ineffaceable vision" of his deceased brother Cyrus calling him to preach the Gospel; this set him in earnest on the path of spiritual struggle. Within a few years he became a successful Universalist minister in Milford, Mass., but his personal search for a faith that best conformed to his sense of the message of Christ was not over. Not a little of the value of this book is in its sharply etched account of the conflicts within and without the Unitarian Church of his day. Ballou's resolution upon "Christian Non-resistance" led finally to the establishment of one of the most important and long-lived (1842-1856) communal experiments of the last century. Hopedale was founded on a farm in Milford as a joint stock venture. The members engaged to abide by uncompromising standards of nonviolence and Christian love. Here is an important account

of the rise and fall of this enterprise, as well as of Ballou's wide-ranging interest in spiritual and philosophical matters--he was an early appreciator (and stern critic) of Tolstoy, who in turn read and was influenced by Ballou and other courageous pioneers in the movement to reorder the priorities of a deeply troubled nation.

Garrison, William Lloyd. Documents of Upheaval: Selections from The Liberator, 1831-1865. Truman Nelson, ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1966.

This is a valuable anthology compiled from the pages of the little Boston periodical that was for more than three decades the most persistent, most important voice of the abolitionist movement--and nearly every other cause of humanitarian reform in the nation. The central figure here, of course, is Garrison himself, founder, publisher, editor, and principal writer (see the Kraditor listing), but many others, famous, infamous, or obscure writers for--or against--the cause of emancipation appear as they found their way into Garrison's paper. The moral accomodation to Southern slavery by the North is represented by an attack upon the troublesome Anti-Slavery Society by Harrison Gray Otis, pillar of Boston society. Southern pro-slavery arguments are also presented--and, like all the Northern voices of cooperation, subjected to Garrison's withering moral scrutiny. The rebellion of the slave Nat Turner is recounted here with Garrison's resounding refutation of the national press which blamed him as "the instigator of human butchery." The great abolitionist's writings against slavery and also in dispute with other leaders of the emancipation movement show him to

be fully aware of the implications of his stand, which was intransigent against both slavery and violence. Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and Adin Ballou enunciate their agreements and differences in these pages, and certain necessarily anonymous free blacks are represented by powerful and vivid letters. The collection inspires a strong and concrete sense of the moral dilemma of the many and the moral courage of the few.

Green, Martin. The Problem of Boston: Some Readings in Cultural History. New York: W.W. Norton, 1966.

This is a profoundly original and penetrating analysis of the nature and development of Boston society's commitment to artistic and intellectual endeavor in the nineteenth century. With the aid of many contemporary accounts and some interesting statistics, Professor Green effectively counters the image of America in the last century as a place devoted entirely to westward hustle and bustle and offering no important space to the thinker and the artist: "In Boston the life of the mind was given an important and dignified place in the total culture." Any historian who neglects or rejects Boston is guilty of slighting a vitally significant element of nineteenth-century culture. The author gives Boston its due both in its successes and its ultimate failure to sustain itself as a whole and healthy society by approaching it through the personalities and achievements of two men, particularly Ticknor (see the Tyack listing below), "the aristocrat in a democracy," represented the best qualities of a social establishment committed to both the enrichment of the mind and the ideals of democracy. Charles

Eliot Norton, the great educator, standard-bearer for high culture, and central inspiration to Adams, James, Santayana, and Berenson, was the "aristocrat in plutocracy." Whereas Ticknor lived in and worked for a still broadly unified culture, Norton lived in a Boston in which the gulf between rich and poor was too great and fraught with bad conscience. For all his courage and his noble convictions, Norton refused to deal adequately with the harsher realities of the Gilded Age. In his study of these figures and others, notably James Fields (see Tryon below), the author provides compelling answers to the question, "What went wrong?" What were the forces which transformed a healthy literary culture into a collection of amiable fireside poets and world-weary aesthetes? The problem and its solution are enormously important to our modern society, as well as to our sense of the past.

(A paperback edition is available from Norton.)

Greenslet, Ferris. The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946.

The Lowells were among the Normans who accompanied William the Conqueror to England; they came to New England when Percival Lowle, a successful Bristol merchant incensed over royal injustice, set sail for Boston at the age of 67 with his family. That was in 1639; this book is the account of the eleven generations of American Lowells who from his time to ours have had a large hand in shaping the history of Boston, New England, and the United States. Here are vividly told lives of John Lowell, the "Old Judge," member of the Continental Congress and early abolitionist; John "the Rebel," brilliant Federalist leader and benevolent public servant;

Francis Cabot Lowell, the businessman and mathematician who memorized the secret design of the English power loom, improved upon it, and organized the New England cotton industry; James Russell Lowell, renowned poet, essayist, and political satirist; as well as Amy the poet, Percival the astronomer, and many other distinguished Lowells, who not only did not confine themselves socially to the company of God and the Cabots, but who expended themselves to an extraordinary degree in the service of their fellow men. Mr. Greenslet covers a large subject with grace and erudition, and he manages to illuminate both individual personalities and the broader movements of history.

James, Henry. The Bostonians. Intro. By Celia Townsend Wells. New York: Apollo Editions, 1974.

This is the author's only exclusively American novel, a harshly satiric yet richly ambiguous treatment of Boston culture and Boston feminism--female emancipation as observed through the sceptical eyes of Henry James. The central characters are Olive Chancellor, an intensely proper Bostonian committed to the cause of the downtrodden woman; her distant kinsman Basil Ransom, a young lawyer from the erring, defeated South; and beautiful, innocent, "gifted" Verena Tarrant, who becomes the protégée and friend in feminism of Olive, and the object of the chivalrous (and chauvinist) romantic intentions of Basil. The book has genuine passion as well as clever irony in its searching analysis of the personalities involved in the struggle between the narrowly intense way of reformer Olive and the warmer but also narrow approach of reactionary Basil. Along the way are many interesting glimpses of the life and attitudes of late nine-

teenth-century Boston and of James himself.

(Paperback editions are available from Modern Library, Penguin, Apollo Editions, and Bobbs-Merrill.)

Kraditor, Aileen S. Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850. New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.

This is an analysis of the anti-slavery movement in the years which saw the most decisive dialogue and conflict between ideologies within the movement. Professor Kraditor probes deeply into Garrisonian and anti-Garrisonian literature and effectively counters the position of the many historians who identify the entire abolitionist crusade with a tiny radical and/or transcendentalist minority within it: "Far from repudiating institutions, most abolitionists wished to purify them." Even the radical Garrison himself, Ms. Kraditor demonstrates, did not seek to impose his extreme position upon the American Anti-Slavery Society. The split in that organization actually occurred when its conservative elements sought to make abolitionism more widely attractive by rejecting the ideas of the radicals. Garrison emerges here, not as a mere crank who rejected compromise and thereby sowed the seeds of war, but as a reformer whose vigorous persistence helped create a general moral awareness which resulted in the rejection of the quietist acceptance of slavery. The book is both lively and scholarly, and it contains much of contemporary interest in its examination of the role of women in the movement and the role of radical reformers in establishment politics.

(Paperback edition available from Vintage.)

Lipman, Jean. Rufus Porter, Yankee Pioneer. New York, Potter, 1968.

Rufus Porter (1792-1884) was an itinerant painter of striking originality, a musician, and a visionary inventor of, among many other things, very plausible precursors of the automobile and the elevated railroad, a washing machine, an airship, a portable pre-fab house, and a revolving rifle, the design for which enabled Colonel Colt to create his revolver. As if this were not enough to assure his immortality, Porter was also the founder and first editor of Scientific American. For all his achievement, however, this Yankee individualist, who by nature and choice avoided the mainstream of Establishment culture, has remained virtually unknown to posterity, and this carefully researched study by a respected scholar of American art and folk culture constitutes a virtual rediscovery of a unique New Englander. In describing Porter's life, his works, and his careers--he was a farmer, shoemaker, teacher, builder, dancing master, and sailor, as well as painter, inventor, and journalist--Jean Lipman presents him as a brilliant example of the self-made man in the land of unlimited opportunity that was early nineteenth-century America. He, as much as anyone, embodied the "clear, free, original and inventive power of mind" considered by de Tocqueville to be characteristic of the Americans he described. The book is replete with color and black-and-white pictures of Porter's fascinating murals (many in the Boston area), his portraits, and his inventions.

Lynd, Staughton, ed. Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966.

This anthology was assembled and provided with an illuminating introduction by a man who has himself long been actively involved in the cause of radical nonviolent reform. It is arranged in such a way as to give a consecutive account of nonviolence in America, with careful attention given to an extremely broad range of religious, political, and social ideas which have found theoretical and practical expression in the movement. It begins with William Penn's wise and loving call for peaceful co-existence with the Delaware Indians and moves through American history up to the unrest of the mid-1960's. The Abolitionists are represented by the writings of William Lloyd Garrison, Adin Ballou, Thoreau, Wendell Phillips, and the "learned blacksmith," Elihu Burritt--all important figures in Boston culture. Several key essays are presented in full, such as Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience," William James' "The Moral Equivalent of War," and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Pilgrimage to Non-Violence." Dr. Lynd includes a wealth of statements by people who have put their beliefs--and sometimes their lives--on the line. Among them are high school students and P.T.A. members engaged in the struggle for civil rights, peace marchers, conscientious objectors, and suffragists in prison, as well as well-known individuals, such as Clarence Darrow and Jane Addams. Each selection has its own short, informative introduction, and the whole is a wonderful tool for the first-hand documentary study of a part of history and of a great deal of courage.

(A paperback edition is available from Bobbs-Merrill.)

Morison, Samuel Eliot. Three Centuries of Harvard: 1636-1936. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

This is an eminent historian's one-volume account of Harvard's history, built upon the research that went into his monumental and official Tercentennial History, but not, however, a mere "digest" of that work: "In this little volume I am writing as an individual, and not as the official historian." This "little volume" is itself around five hundred pages of closely researched information, but it is a lively and engrossing work. Here are the life and times of the "earliest collegiate foundation in the English colonies," of the individuals who made it great--and more than a few of those who hindered it, including the first head of the College, Nathaniel Eaton, who was dismissed after a year in office for the over-industrious flogging of students and the undergenerous feeding of them. The school was established in a Cambridge cowyard and helped along by Eaton's friend, John Harvard, whose dying bequest of half his estate and all his library gained a footing for the school and immortality for himself. The list of men of service to Harvard is, of course, enormous, and Professor Morison does graceful and succinct justice to a remarkable number of them, beginning with the man who replaced Eaton, Henry Dunster, who was largely responsible for the College's salvation and early growth. The terms of especially notable presidents are recounted in some detail, especially those of the great John Leverett, "who founded the liberal tradition of Harvard University," and the finest of them all, Charles Eliot, under whose forty-year guidance the University advanced into the modern age. Great academic reformers, such as George

Ticknor, also have their achievements delineated here. The crises of war, religion, and finance are given clear and compact description in such a way as to demonstrate vividly that greatness has behind it centuries of struggle, devotion, and hard work.

Tharp, Louise Hall. Mrs. Jack. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965.

This is the biography of Isabella Stuart Gardner, who was both Boston's most flamboyant figure of high society and one of its most sensitive, generous, and dedicated patrons of the arts. The book presents a lively account of both aspects of her life, her dalliances and her diamonds on the one hand, her lifelong commitment to her cultural responsibilities on the other. The advent of Fenway Court, her greatest gift to Boston culture, is chronicled here, as are her friendships with such luminaries as Henry Adams, Henry James, John Singer Sargent, Charles Eliot Norton, and Bernard Berenson. The book is not only an arresting tale of an arresting lady; it provides an intimate look at the social life of the financially and culturally privileged men and women of the Gilded Age.

Thoreau, Henry David. Reform Papers. Ed. with intro. and notes by Wendell Glick. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

These are the polemical writings of the man who is today perhaps the most widely honored and read of those who refused to march to the drum of nineteenth-century establishment society. It begins with "The Service," in which the twenty-three-year-old Thoreau already displays the

expansive imagery and vigorous independence that will characterize his mature work. All phases of his literary career are represented in this volume, including the most important anti-slavery tracts, "Slavery in Massachusetts" and those devoted to the actions and fate of John Brown; and the famous and influential statement on the primacy of the rights of the individual over those of the state, "Resistance to Civil Government" (or "Civil Disobedience"). The provocative lectures, "Life without Principle," and "Reform and the Reformers," left unfinished at its author's death, appear here, the latter for the first time in print. The introductions and copious notes concentrate on the circumstances of writing and publication, and the work as a whole conforms to the highest standards of scholarly editorship.

Thoreau, Henry David. Walden. Ed. with intro. and notes by J. Lyndon Shanley. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.

This is Thoreau's account of "two years and two months" in which "I lived alone, in the woods, a mile from any neighbor, in a house which I had built myself, on the shore of Walden Pond, in Concord, Massachusetts, and earned my living by the labor of my hands only." The particulars of daily economy, the cycle of nature, and the activities of the neighbors (birds and wasps as well as men) are here the objects of acute observation and rich thought: "I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived." This is an authoritative edition

of a great American classic, based upon the author's corrected page proofs and the first edition. Its notes and introductions provide much historical and textual background.

(Numerous paperback editions are available, including the above CEAA edition from Princeton University Press.)

Tryon, W.S. Parnassus Corner. A Life of James T. Fields, Publisher to the Victorians. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963.

Fields' career began when he left his home in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at the age of thirteen to become an apprentice clerk at the Old Corner Bookstore, Boston. Twelve years later, he became a junior partner of a young publishing house which grew out of the same establishment, and in the meantime he had become a published poet himself and had persuaded his boss, William Ticknor (cousin to George), to introduce into the U.S. the Poems of the controversial Alfred Tennyson. Tryon gives an engaging account of the man who made the firm of Ticknor and Fields into the most distinguished publishing house in America. "Fields was the first to recognize what all publishers now know: that the secret of a successful book house was to play the part of the benefactor to the man of letters." This secret, applied with much charm and ability, made his firm the publisher to Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, Lowell, Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Tennyson, Browning, Dickens, and many, many others. More than publisher, Fields was friend and supporter to many--he was especially important to Hawthorne for example---and his life as literary arbiter and social lion in nineteenth-century Boston is told well here, with much of interest included about the generally amiable Boston literary environment.

Tyack, David B. George Ticknor and the Boston Brahmins. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1967.

George Ticknor's influence upon the intellectual life of Boston was such that some of his peers referred to the city as "Ticknorville." Professor Tyack's study concentrates upon the formation of Ticknor's richly enlightened and still deeply conservative character, and upon the expression of that character in his principal achievements: his courageous attempts to transform provincial and intellectually lax Harvard University into a serious and progressive institution of learning; his leading role in the founding of the Boston Public Library (see the following listing); and his work as a scholar, particularly his important and still-useful History of Spanish Literature. Through extensive use of the journals and letters of Ticknor and his friends, Tyack offers a strong sense of the particulars behind the moral, political, and intellectual concerns of cultured Bostonians forced to come to terms with the democracy's shift toward Jacksonian populism. Especially fascinating are the European encounters of the young Ticknor with the great men and women of the time, among them Metternich, Goethe, Southey, Wordsworth, and Mme. de Staël. Ticknor is convincingly portrayed here as a man dedicated to the loftiest ideals of culture and public service, yet devoted to a way of life that was doomed by the commercial and egalitarian forces of the growing nation.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. Boston Public Library. A Centennial History. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

This is the "official" history of one of Boston's greatest institutions, but the official motivation does not prevent it from being a lively and fascinating account of the individual and collective effort that went into this landmark in the history of American public education. Mr. Whitehill begins his story with two wildly different personalities, both dedicated to the idea of a broadly based public library. The first, George Ticknor, was ultimately the man most responsible for establishing the Boston Public Library as a truly public library with a lending policy of unprecedented breadth and liberality; the second was Alexandre Vattemare, a "volatile little French ventriloquist" who wished to move from his triumphant stage career (Queen Victoria and Beethoven were among his fans) to a more permanent form of cultural endeavor, the founding of great libraries through cultural exchange programs. Both pioneers failed in their first attempts, but Ticknor persevered, and the story of his steadfast devotion, as well as that of Edward Everett, Joshua Bates, Herbert Putnam, Josiah Benton, and many others, is one of both Brahmin and democratic triumph. Here is the story of the building of Charles Follen McKim's architectural masterpiece, the Central Library in Copley Square. Walter Muir Whitehill, a distinguished historian who served as Director and Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, brings a unique perspective to his account of the difficulties, controversies, and successes which accompanied the Library's creation and its advance into the mid-fifties.

The "Boston: An Urban Community"
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Boston An Urban Community

Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Robert M. Hollister
with the assistance of
Jay Cooprider, Scott Golden,
Ruth Kolodney, Joan Lund,
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Library Staff.

Boston Public Library, 1977

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FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

"Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

"Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University, September 14 - November 2, 1976.

"After Strange Fruit: Changing Literary Taste in Post-World-War-II Boston" with P. Albert Duhamel, Professor of English, Boston College. September 16 - November 4, 1976.

"Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City" with Robert Hollister, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning, M.I.T. September 18 - November 6, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is a selection of books used in a National Endowment for the Humanities Learning Library Program course on "Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City," presented September 18 - November 5, 1976. This listing includes classics, best sellers, never-sellers and pulps. It covers only some of the over two hundred novels and the countless other pieces of popular literature set in Boston.

In addition to their entertainment value, these books are instructive about the issues on which "Images of Boston" focussed:

-- How is Boston represented in fiction and other creative writing?
-- How do various authors depict Boston's physical environment? The life experience of successive immigrant groups? Boston childhoods?
-- What have been the major images and metaphors used in writing about Boston? How has their popularity shifted over time? How can we account for these changes?
-- What is the essence of Boston values and traditions--about individualism, morality, religion, and political forms? What can we learn from literature about the significance and the sources of these values and traditions?
-- What ideas about the potentialities and limitations of Boston and life in Boston are expressed in literature? How?

While the books annotated below do not fall neatly into the categories that indicate the scope of the individual lectures, the bibliography places each volume in one of the categories about which it is informative.

1. Growing Up in Boston--Child's Eye Views

Henry Adams. The Education of Henry Adams. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1918. (Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin).

Chapters I and II of this autobiography describe Adams' childhood in Quincy and Boston. The author reveals the impact of family background on his subsequent perceptions of Boston. In his third-person account, Adams describes a youth greatly influenced by "the mere accident of starting a twentieth century career from a nest of associations so Colonial--so troglodytic--as the First Church, the Boston State House, Beacon Hill, John Hancock and John Adams, Mount Vernon Street and Quincy." He gives excellent insights into the childhood of a Boston Brahmin whose family viewed modern Boston with considerable skepticism and distrust. Adams' concepts of Boston are usually developed through contrasts with other places and states of being--Washington, Europe and Quincy.

Mary Antin. The Promised Land. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1912. (Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin, 1969).

An account of the author's life in Russia, then in Boston. Although her father never really succeeded in the business world in Boston, Mary Antin sees her new country as the "Promised Land." The American Dream was free public schools, a chance to become educated and to pursue her goal of becoming a writer. She presents an optimistic view of America while describing the shabby tenements where her family lived and the agony they faced every rent day. She is a

true believer in the value and efficacy of the agencies and institutions built to ease the acculturation of immigrants. Antin is helped along the way by the Morgan Memorial, the Barnard and Morgan Chapels, and none other than the Brahmin relic, Edward Everett Hale.

Robert Lowell, "91 Revere St." in Life Studies. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1959. (Paperback edition: Farrar Strauss and Giroux, 1967).

Wonderfully insightful piece based on the period of three years Lowell lived at this address with his parents. The essay conveys subtleties of class distinction on Beacon Hill; relates his school and friendship experiences with Brimmer School classmates dressed in "little tweed golf suits with knickerbockers." He summons up memories of the Public Garden and Common, Sunday dinners, childhood fears, detials of furniture and dress. The author relates his mother's "horrified giddiness" at the declassé character of their residential location: "We are barely perched on the outer rim of the hub of decency."

Samuel Eliot Morison. One Boy's Boston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.

This autobiography covers the years 1887-1901. It is a collection of the well-known historian's memories and impressions of his upper-class childhood. He describes vividly Boston society life, private schools, transportation, play and social attitudes. Morison views Boston as less "stuffy provincial, purse-proud, prejudiced" than some critics maintain. His childhood account consistently affirms upper-class Boston ways, occasionally with a degree of defensiveness. The thin

volume is delightful reading. It gives a sharp, clear sense of what it was like to be a privileged boy in late nineteenth century Boston.

Francis Russell, ed. Forty Years On. West Roxbury: Roxbury Latin School, 1970.

Produced in commemoration of the 325th anniversary of the Roxbury Latin School, this book includes a series of "Ten Roxbury Sketches" by the editor. "Patterns of a City" presents his boyhood impressions and experiences of Boston. Russell ventured the length and breadth of the city, and even as a boy "felt the immediacy of the proud, sprawling seaport city with its mysterious strength that held the threads of so many individual and private destinies." "The Boston El" describes his daily trip to school. This journey remains today an excellent cross-sectional slice through residential space and time that the reader can experience himself, with Russell's account in mind.

David Viscott. Dorchester Boy: Portrait of a Psychiatrist as a Very Young Man. New York: Arbor House, 1973.

Viscott relates what it was like to grow up in a predominantly Jewish section of Dorchester. His family shared a two-family house with his grandparents. The author stresses the importance attached by this community to culture and education. A section telling of Blue Hill Avenue shows boyhood pursuits, what he noticed, how he and his playmates enjoyed and used their neighborhood, its stores and storekeepers. "There were no strangers on Blue Hill Avenue, only blood relatives from a fading culture sharing another common thoroughfare in time."

2. Boston's Physical Development and the Spirit of Place

Caroline Ticknor, ed. Dr. Holmes's Boston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1915.

Oliver Wendell Holmes's unabashed pro-Boston chauvinism celebrates key themes in the city's view of itself and the spirit of Boston. In addition to capturing cultural and social preoccupations, Holmes describes in sharp detail the physical settings relevant to his activities and meanderings--boating on the Charles, for example.

Resident of the Boston area for almost his entire life, Holmes's writings span a period of rapid growth and physical change of which he is a thoughtful observer. He rails against the erection of historical monuments, rues the "destroying hand of 'progress.'"

William Dean Howells. The Rise of Silas Lapham. Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1885. (Numerous paperback editions).

In addition to being informative about Boston society and class conflicts, this novel tells about physical development of the Back Bay. Self-made paint-manufacturer Lapham and his family move to the South End as upper-class Bostonians are fleeing it. Then Lapham buys a lot on the water side of Beacon, in the "New Land" of filled Back Bay. We follow his dreams and evolving plans for his mansion, that serves as a metaphor for his shifting business and social fortunes. The story covers architectural styles of the period, and presents psychological aspects of the individual decisions that in cumulation developed the city.

Henry James. The American Scene. New York: Harper, 1907. (Paperback edition: Indiana University Press, 1968).

The chapter on Boston recounts James' return to his former home after over twenty years abroad. He decries the changes he observes in the city, mixing condemnation of physical growth with a sharp disdain for the growing immigrant population. He sees Boston through the eyes of both disillusioned native and sophisticated newcomer. Where the physical setting expresses values that he espouses, his writing captures this effect more eloquently than the prose of any other writer. The book includes his classic description of the charm of Mount Vernon St., wandering up the hill to the rear of the State House, "fairly hanging about there to rest like some good flushed lady, or more than middle age."

David McCord. About Boston: Sight, Sound, Flavor and Inflection. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1948. (Paperback edition: Little, Brown and Co., 1973).

McCord's essays, now almost thirty years old, remain among the best evocations of the spirit of the Boston landscape, of the values embedded in the physical forms, both built and natural, of the local environment. As he states: "Boston is what she is today because the past is physically as well as traditionally a part of her modern life."

Anton Myrer. The Intruder: A Novel of Boston. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965.

Subtitled "A Novel of Boston," this is a novel of Boston urban renewal, a distinct period in

the physical development of the city. The sheer scale of redevelopment demanded a novel villifying it, and this is it. Clearly inspired by the clearance of the West End, the backdrop for The Intruder is plans for renewal of the North End. The wife of Gardner Lawring, Yankee architect of the plans, is raped by a North End cabbie. The heavy-handed theme: who is really the intruder?

3. Boston of Virtue or of Vice? Urban Romanticism vs. Revulsionism

John Tornrose Fitzgerald. Bixby of Boston: Being the Little Story of a Young Railway-Office Clerk. New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 1906.

A typical turn-of-the-century piece of romantic pulp. Bixby the railway clerk finds the city a place of unrequited love. The city strokes his romantic dreams and fantasies, yearnings and lust.

Edward Everett Hale. If Jesus Came to Boston. Boston: Lamson, Wolffe and Co., 1895.

This plain white-dustjacketed volume was inspired by another's book entitled "If Christ Came to Chicago," that suggested that His plans had failed badly. Hale paints the rosier side. Dr. Primrose, his South Boston physician-narrator, guides a Christ-figure around Boston. The tour is merely a vehicle for showing off the great good works of Bostonians, a population ostensibly dedicated to taking care of immigrants and others in need. Primrose and the visitor traipse the city, visiting in turn various effective social agencies.

Nathaniel Hawthorne. The Blithedale Romance. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1852. (Paperback edition: Norton, 1958).

The novel draws heavily on Hawthorne's stay at the socialist community established briefly at Brook Farm in 1841, in what is today West Roxbury. Hawthorne's tale concerns the spiritual and psychological aspects of brotherhood, and competing social, economic and political theories. In addition, it contrasts the values associated with city and country living. His characters, especially the narrator, cynical minor poet Coverdale, leave Boston in search of a communal existence, but yearn for the comforts of the city.

William Dean Howells. A Modern Instance. Boston: Osgood and Co., 1882. (Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

Bartley and Marcia Hubbard marry and move from Equity, Maine, to the great metropolis of Boston. The Hubbards try hard to make it, but the city denies them opportunity. Bartley moves up in the world of local journalism, but suffers a progressive moral decay. Howells presents Boston as a city of high rents, mean streets and sharp social cleavages. He plays out the theme of the provincial innocent coming to the city (Boston) in some of his other novels as well (The Rise of Silas Lapham, The Minister's Charge, The Landlord at Lion's Head), but this one handles the theme most skillfully and was his favorite.

Henry James. The Bostonians. London: Macmillan and Co., 1886. (Several paperback editions).

This novel dissects female emancipationists and abolitionists of the 1870's in terms that are likely to put 1970's progressives on the defensive. Boston remains inhabited today by the philosophical and political progeny of Olive Chancellor, rich proponent of emancipation; Miss Birdseye, the aged, penniless philanthropist who "has labored for every wise reform"; Verena Tarrant, who gains renown as a speaker for the cause; as well as Basil Ransom, the outsider who rejects the local ism's and fights for Verena's heart. Revealing descriptions of parts of Boston accompany James's focus on cultural and social forms of the day.

4. Human Values and Traditions

Margaret Allston (Anna Farquhar), Her Boston Experiences: A Picture of Modern Boston Society and People. Boston: L.C. Page and Co., 1901.

In this highly melodramatic novel, the protagonist, while clearly a social success, feels judged and bullied by Bostonians, as though "I had found my way into a mammoth woman's club where the principal idea was to doubt and weigh every proposition, then disprove it if possible.' She paints the world of Boston women of the Brahmin class: charity meetings, dances, dinners, teas. Boston men are portrayed as aloof, indifferent, impolite and conceited. The story moves through the main institutions and establishments of the upper class, commenting irreverently on each. Several illustrations show Boston at the turn of the century.

Arlo Bates. The Puritans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898. (Paperback edition: Gregg, 1968).

The novel follows the introduction of two young deacons into Boston society where they encounter persons living lives of subtle impropriety.

The plot revolves around the choice between a liberal and a conservative candidate for bishop. The wealthy churchgoers take sides and use decidedly impious campaign tactics. A Dickensian critique of condescending philanthropists involves a do-gooders' visit to a battered woman in the North End.

Oliver Wendell Holmes. The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1858. (Several paperback editions).

As he discourses with the Schoolmistress, the Young Fellow Named John, the Landlady's daughter, the Divinity student, the Old Gentleman opposite, and the Poet, the Autocrat, Holmes, expresses local values and traditions. The book contains his most famous epigrams of Boston and life here. His philosophical postures are framed by a close knowledge of his city. As Holmes says, "I have bored this ancient city through and through in my daily travels, until I know it as an old inhabitant of Cheshire knows his cheese."

5. Immigrant and Ethnic Boston-Social and Class Conflicts

Charles Angoff, Journey to the Dawn. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1951.

This is the first in what became a series of

books about the Polonskys, a Jewish immigrant family, and their in-laws, the Weinbergs. The Polonskys travel from Russia to Boston in 1905, and settle on Beacon Hill. Angoff, a Boston newspaperman and later editor of the American Mercury, recounts in vivid detail how young David Polonsky experiences his new home. This is an excellent account of Jewish immigrant experience of the city, detailing conditions of life, what young David notices, likes, abhores, and is confused by. The next two novels in the series are set in Boston, then the Polonskys move to New York, after which point the images of Boston are only occasional memories, comparisons and visits.

Joseph Caruso, The Priest. New York: Macmillan, 1956.

This book would never win a Nobel Prize for literature, but it is an entertaining story of the West End before urban renewal. It seems to be the only novel primarily about Italian Boston. The book describes the religious forms and strong elements of anti-clericism in the community. It shows clearly the tensions and differences within the Church. Gangster Joseph Shannon is convicted of killing his mistress. Father Octavio Scarpi, a former boxer, hears the last rites of another man who confesses to the murder. Father Octavio is tormented about how to achieve justice and at the same time not violate the secrecy of the confessional.

Frances Parkinson Keyes. Joy Street. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1950. (Paperback edition: Simon and Schuster, 1974).

Emily, granddaughter of the wealthy and popular Mrs. Forbes of Boston, marries Roger, who, though far less affluent, is nonetheless of

"good" family. Roger's involvement in a progressive law firm brings non-society visitors to the family home and unexpected friendships to the sheltered Emily, who has never before had social contact with the Italians, Irish or Jews who inhabit Boston. The unconventional Mrs. Forbes expresses both a questioning of, and an allegiance to, the values of Brahmin society. Aside from the social and sociological insights of the novel, there are valuable descriptions of life on Beacon Hill, in Louisburg Square and in other, less "correct" parts of town.

Malcolm X with Alex Haley. The Autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Grove, 1965. (Paperback edition: Grove, 1965).

Rather little of Malcolm X's autobiography is locally situated, but those few sections reveal a great deal about black Boston. We follow Malcolm's exploration of Boston when he first arrives, then become acquainted with the Roseland State Ballroom, the natural lure of the world of poolrooms, bars, cheap restaurants and pawnshops. Malcolm lives in Roxbury and observes class differences within the black community. He works briefly loading trains at the Dover St. railyard, and later is jailed for theft in the Charlestown State Prison.

John P. Marquand. The Late George Apley. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937. (Paperback edition: Little, Brown, 1965).

If you must read only one volume to understand the Yankee Bostonian, this should be your choice. Built around edited fictional letters, the novel probes sympathetically yet humorously the Proper Bostonian's attitudes towards family, physical

and social change, schooling, Puritanism, intellectualism and money. The conflicts between father and son are a classic of intergenerational friction. The younger Apley, even in his departure from the ways espoused by his father, remains a strongly traditional Bostonian.

Mark J. Mirsky. Blue Hill Avenue. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1972.

Rabbi Lux, the mild, good-hearted scholar, leaves the serenity of study and the not-so-serene comfort of home to pursue a missing pupil. Once a thriving Jewish community, this area of Dorchester is now decayed and few of the "old beards" are left; the most notable members of the community and the rabbi's congregation are bookies, numbers men and pool-parlor owners. Through the sewers and dens of Blue Hill Avenue the rabbi searches, uncovering the sins and miseries of the ghetto. The book captures neatly the spiritual decay that lies behind the creaky stairwells and the shards of glass.

See also The Secret Table by Mirsky, probably the most powerful of contemporary writers to use and to describe Boston. A part of that book, "Dorchester Home and Garden" concerns Maishe, a thirty-year old adolescent, returning to no-longer Jewish Blue Hill Avenue.

Edwin O'Connor. The Last Hurrah. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1956. (Paperback edition: Bantam, 1970).

This classic story of Irish-American politics is based loosely on the life of James Michael Curley. Protagonist Frank Skeffington exemplifies a personal style of politics in which individual

favors are granted, and then repaid with votes. O'Connor analyzes Irish political culture through the story of the incumbent mayor's final and losing campaign against an inexperienced, mediocre opponent, backed by Skeffinton's political enemies. The book plays out marvelously the Irish vs. Yankee political conflict. O'Connor's other novels--All in the Family and The Edge of Sadness--are similarly informative about the Boston Irish.

Bryant Rollins, Danger Song. New York: Macmillan, 1971. (Paperback edition: Collier, 1971).

This novel is impressive for its sensitive recounting of both black and white, central city and suburban perspectives. It is surprising that the book has not received greater critical or popular acclaim to date. Rollins shows the lack of opportunity for a bright young black man who is continuously penalized for venturing physically and socially beyond Roxbury. Martin Williams' wanderings through Boston cover a good part of the local landscape. We follow his dreams and strivings, as he gets strong support for his ambitions from his family, but has to deal with his teachers' hostility and white youths' violent antagonism. Martin forms a close friendship with a boy from Beacon Hill, but is beaten up by his black schoolmates for associating with him. He becomes infatuated with a white suburban girl whose father is donating the use of a Roxbury building to Martin's sisters' social agency. Their budding relationship leads to Martin's death in a violent fantasy-reality conclusion that is reminiscent of the racial turmoil of the 1960's.

Edward R. F. Sheehan. The Governor: Being an Embittered and Bemused Account of the Life & Times of the Brother of the Irish Christ. New York: World Publishing Co., 1970.

A story of power politics that shows the importance of the Church in Boston politics. Young, handsome Emmet Shannon is elected Governor with the support of a corrupt Commissioner of Public Works and the Archbishop of Boston. Commissioner Francis X. Cassidy strives to build a parking garage in the Public Garden, but his protege balks at implementing the scheme. The novel includes excellent descriptive passages on Beacon Hill and Roxbury. The reader learns about the contrasting lifestyles of the Irish, blacks, Italians, and Yankees.

Jean Stafford. Boston Adventure. Philadelphia: Blakiston Co., 1944. (Paperback edition: Harcourt, Brace, 1967).

This story of an immigrant hotel maid's daughter who comes to live with a Beacon Hill grand dame is a perfect vehicle for describing Yankee Boston and the conflicts of immigrants and "natives." After Sonia Marburg's mother dies, Miss Pride invites Sonia to live with her on Beacon Hill. She catalogues in entertaining fashion its values and traditions. The novel explores the gradations of class, local preoccupation with lineage, lionizing of Boston cultural institutions, and the thriftiness of the wealthy.

Sidney Sulkin. The Family Man. Washington, D. C.: Robert B. Luce, 1962.

A story of Jewish Dorchester during the Depression. Harry Allman, building contractor, makes it through the economic hard times, partly by shady dealing. The novel follows his family life from his courtship with Leah to the disintegration of their marriage into bitter emptiness and the earned disrespect of his children. This book is unusual for its setting in a neighborhood of three-deckers rather than the brick rowhouses that are the location for most Boston novels. It recounts the dynamics of neighborhood change of an earlier era.

Dorothy West. The Living is Easy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948. (Reprint: Arno, 1970).

A story of Black Yankees, this may be the only novel to deal with Boston's black middle class. A light-skinned girl makes her way in society by lying, cheating and manipulating her sisters, daughter and husband, most of whom desert her one by one. Cleo Judson and her banana wholesaler husband live first in the South End, later near Brookline. The main plot concerns an unappealing, conniving character, but the book is interesting for its treatment of race relations and local geography.

6. Travel Literature and Visitors' Accounts

Charles Dickens. American Notes for General Circulation. New York: Wilson and Co., 1842. (Paperback edition: Penguin, 1972).

While residents of New York and Philadelphia suffered Dickens' caustic reporting on his

visits there, Dickens gave Bostonians ample reason for self-congratulation. He wrote, "The tone of society in Boston is one of perfect politeness, courtesy, and good-breeding." The city clearly benefitted from being the first stop on his American tour. Dickens took particular interest in local social service institutions and charities, and goes on at length about charitable institutions located in South Boston.

H. G. Wells. The Future in America, A Search after Realities. New York: Harper and Bros., 1906 (Reprint: Arno, 1974).

At the start of this book Wells treated the city well, declaring his admiration for the confident and planful growth he observed. Later on, Wells concludes that Bostonians are "mysteriously enchanting and ineffectual," and ponders why this might be. Overall, in his record, Boston shines in comparison to other U.S. cities.

Nathaniel P. Willis. The Complete Works. New York: J. S. Redfield, 1846.

Willis' brief description of an 1843 visit to Boston provides more fuel for the Bostonian's penchant for comparing his city to New York. Willis sized up the local populace as being of superior character to New Yorkers. He comments on the "look of staid respectability and thrift." "The very loaves in the bakers' windows had a look of virtuous exaction, to be eaten gravely, if at all."

Chiang Yee, The Silent Traveller in Boston. New York: W. W. Norton, 1959.

Chiang Yee is a more recent visitor who offers

impressions of his stay in Boston. We can compare our city with other places covered in the Silent Traveller series...London, Oxford, New York, Dublin. Yee enters the city extraordinarily well-connected and moves easily among the intellectual and social elite. His prose has the same graceful impressionistic qualities as his watercolor illustrations. The polite and curious guest reveals us to ourselves gently.

7. Boston Today

Russell H. Greenan. It Happened in Boston? New York: Random House, 1969.

Greenan makes full use of Boston character and landscape as both setting and stimulus of terrible fantasies and various sinister possitilities. The book presents a detailed knowledge of the Back Bay and Public Garden. The characters are easily recognizable to anyone who inhabits or passes through these parts. The disintegration of the paranoid artist protagonist is less interesting than how Greenan presents and uses the city.

See also Greenan's Heart of Gold, a comparably macabre novel, also set in the Back Bay. It offers a Boston inhabited by a thoroughly perfidious Back Bay minister, his rich and gullible parishioners, and an assortment of con men and shady characters.

George V. Higgins. The Friends of Eddie Coyle. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1972.

The first novel by George Higgins tells the story of a working-class stiff in the Boston underworld. Eddie Coyle, just trying to make a few dollars and stay a step ahead of the law,

forfeits a position of relative safety by double crossing both the police and his criminal cohorts. The book traces the consequences of his ill-advised actions, both for others and for himself, in this tale of small-time deals and violent retribution.

Higgins' next two books, The Digger's Game and Cogan's Trade plow the same terrain as Eddie Coyle. Readers of these novels will perceive a side of Boston one rarely sees or even thinks of; innocent street corners become the temporary offices of underworld gangs, while restaurants, hotel parking lots and garages take on a sinister and secretive quality. Even Fenway Park and the Boston Garden become scenes of intrigue, masking the unsavory intentions of hoods and hit-men. From South Boston to downtown to the wealthy suburbs, Higgins' men turn familiar places into settings for hidden danger and violence.

Robert B. Parker. Mortal Stakes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975.

The first book in what is now a series of four featuring Spencer, the author's hard-boiled detective, a modern-day version of the detectives of Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett. Spencer unravels a blackmail plot against a star Red Sox pitcher. In this and subsequent books Parker uses Boston and its metropolitan area more fully, displays a stronger appreciation of the physical and social city than do other authors who have recently set fiction here. The author pokes through the glossy surface of the travel poster and reveals a city that sweats, weeps, struts and lays back. Parker's books include some sharp social criticism as well--about suburbia in God Save the Child, university life

and student radicalism in The Godwulf Manuscript, woman's liberation and changing sex roles in The Promised Land.

Dan Wakefield. Starting Over. New York: Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence, 1973. (Paperback edition: Dell, 1974).

Public relations executive Potter lands in Boston after becoming divorced and takes a job teaching public communication at Gillen Junior College. The book satirizes the world of the "brownstone schools of higher education of Beacon Street...ranging from certified distinction of a minor sort to high-priced havens for middle-class kids who had nowhere else to go." Wakefield gives us an up-to-date view of the Boston world of young professionals, changing family and life styles. He recounts poignantly how lonely, single people experience the city.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Van Wyck Brooks. The Flowering of New England, 1815-1865. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1936.

_____. New England: Indian Summer. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1940.

These two volumes provide a comprehensive literary history of nineteenth-century New England writers, including major ones whose books are listed above.

Frances Weston Carruth, Fictional Rambles in and about Boston. New York: Mclure, Phillips and Co., 1902. (Reprint: Richard West, 1973).

Carruth carefully plots the location of scenes from Boston fiction. Organized according to

several sections of the city.

George Arthur Dunlap, The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. (Reprint: Russell, 1965).

Separate sections on New York, Philadelphia and Boston, that, as the book's subtitle indicates, portray contemporary conditions in these cities.

Morton and Lucia White. The Intellectual Versus the City. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

This controversial piece of intellectual history analyzes the mostly negative and occasionally positive images of the city of several authors including some who wrote about Boston--Hawthorne, Adams, Henry James and William Dean Howells.

Howard Mumford Jones and Bessie Zaban Jones. The Many Voices of Boston: A Historical Anthology, 1630-1975. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1975. (Paperback edition: Little, Brown, 1975).

A useful anthology that combines fiction and historical materials.

The "Boston: An Urban Community"
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Boston An Urban Community

Growth and Development in the Boston Metropolis: The Union of Government and Economics - A Marriage of Convenience

An Annotated Reading List
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FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 16 - May 25, 1976.

"Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

"Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University, September 14 - November 2, 1976.

"After Strange Fruit: Changing Literary Taste in Post-World-War-II Boston" with P. Albert Duhamel, Professor of English, Boston College, September 16 - November 4, 1976.

"Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City" with Robert Hollister, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning, M.I.T. September 18 - November 6, 1976.

"Growth and Development in the Boston Metropolis: The Union of Government and Economics-- A Marriage of Convenience" with Donald Levitan, Professor of Public Administration, Suffolk University. November 16 - January 18, 1977.

"Massachusetts has always been eminent among the American states. Her metropolis has ever been the metropolis of New England. Her example has been felt, wherever the sons of New England are found, or the name of New England is known."

--Shattuck Report, 1850

An investigation of the growth and development of the Boston urban area linking the role of government with the functions of urban economics. Those who read the material presented here will be equipped to examine the role and function of their community in relationship to past, present and future growth.

Banfield, Edward C., ed. Urban Government: Reader in Administration and Politics. 2d ed. New York, Free Press, 1969.

A comprehensive reader on urban government which systematically traces the development of the many thoughts which have led us up to the present.

Berry, Brian L., ed. City Classification Handbook: Methods and Applications. New York, John Wiley, 1972.

An identification of the many pertinent variables which affect city characteristics in order to facilitate the proposed classification of the highly diverse urban environment. It features new methodologies for classifying and for analyzing the consequences of the multivariate differences among cities.

Burby, Raymond J., III and Shirley Weiss. New Communities, U.S.A. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, 1976.

This book summarizes the results of an extensive study and evaluation of the concepts and realities of new community development in the United States. It examines fully the impact of the Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970.

Churchman, C. West. The Systems Approach. New York, Dell, 1969.

Churchman develops an introduction to Systems Analysis which may be applied to most communities. He develops the notion of the "black box",

input into the system, and the resulting output, all of which is subject to internal and external restraints.

Clay, Grady. Close-up: How to Read the American City. New York, Praeger, 1974.

A visual as well as narrative discussion, in both social and economic terms of the basic ingredients of how to perceive the city.

Conroy, Michael E. The Challenge of Urban Economic Development: An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Alternative Goals for the Economic Structure of Cities. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, 1975.

This report offers a narrative synthesis of the principal available research on urban economic development. The report expands upon the many concepts first developed in Wilbur Thompson's seminal volume A Preface to Urban Economics, evaluates some of those concepts in the light of subsequent research, and raises new questions about the validity of a number of urban econmic development "nostrums".

Downs, Anthony. Urban Problems and Prospects. Chicago, Markham, [1970].

An examination of how our society might cope with the great pressures for major alteration in even the most basic institutions by changing some of our existing urban policies and programs. It contains eleven articles concerning urban growth in general, race relations, housing, transportation, government administration and education.

Edel, Matthew and Jerome Rothenberg. Readings in Urban Economics. New York, Macmillan, 1972.

A survey of themes and analytical tools that have been used in recent development of economic analyses of the city--economics that are continually failing through the nation. The reader should be aware that this book is an extremely complex one.

Forstall, Richard L. "A New Social and Economic Grouping of Cities", The Municipal Yearbook (Chicago, International City Management Association, 1970), pp. 102-159.

A new group or classification of 1761 United States cities of 10,000 or more population in 1910, based on their social and economic characteristics.

Gelfand, Mark I. A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965. New York, Oxford University Press, 1975.

This urban historian provides a description of the 30 years struggle to obtain a national committment to the improvement of the urban environment. It discusses the obstacles created by our Federal system which is inclined toward states rights and local control.

Glaab, Charles N., ed. The American City. Homewood, Ill., Dorsey, 1963.

An examination of selected material reflecting the history and economic developments leading to current urbanization in America. The material has been specifically selected to trace

the development of modern American cities and by so doing to give the reader insight into future development.

Gottman, Jean. Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States. Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press., 1964.

An analysis of the complex forces that have created the megalopolis and the implications of those forces for society. A great deal of time is devoted to the subtle interrelationship between the social and economic processes at work in the Megalopolis. Gottman is an extremely impressive lecturer and his messages should be heeded by all.

Green, James L. Metropolitan Economic Republics. Athens, Georgia, University of Georgia Press, 1965.

In this case study in Regional Economic Growth the author, an economist, suggests that the primary goal of a community is to maintain high levels of employment and income. If these twin goals can be achieved, other related problems become soluble. The author develops a metropolitan - regional economic model, discusses principles underpinning the model, and illustrates use of the model through its application to the Atlantic metropolitan complex.

Hadden, Jeffrey K., Louis H. Masotti and Calvin J. Larson, eds. The Metropolis in Crisis: Social and Political Perspectives. 2d ed. Itasca, Ill., F. E. Peacock, 1971.

This text is written from a sociologist's point of view and provides its readers with a

combined historical, philosophical, social and political perspective of the city. It gives us a greater understanding of the nature of the problems confronting the city, how they evolved, and why they persist.

Handlin, Oscar and John Burchard, eds. The Historian and the City. Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1966.

This work approaches the subject through a general consideration of the place of the modern city in history. It outlines the distinctive characteristics of this environment and the social and personal problems it created.

Jacobs, Jane. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York, Random House, 1961.

A study of the primary conditions required for generating useful great city diversity with emphasis on social and economic behavior in the city; city decay and regeneration; and the subsequent reactions of people as well as problems unique to handling the organized complexity of cities.

Joint Center for Urban Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. Planning Metropolitan Boston. Presented to the Metropolitan Area Planning Council, Commonwealth of Massachusetts in cooperation with the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1967.

A comprehensive statement about the programs and activities of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council for 1967-1970. No such publication

has been issued since this 1967 study. It provides a useful basis for studying Boston metropolitan planning.

Levitan, Donald and Elwyn E. Mariner. Your Massachusetts Government. 8th rev. ed. Boston, Government Research Publications, 1978.

This new revised edition differs significantly from other books on state and local government. It is designed to provide for comparative analysis from one edition to another. It provides a large amount of pertinent information not easily available to most people.

McKelvey, Blake. The Emergence of Metropolitan America, 1915-1966. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1968.

A survey of the expansion of our metropolitan centers and an observance of their progressive loss of effectiveness with the results of various proposals for their reconstruction and survival.

_____. The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1963.

A comprehensive panorama of American urban society over a span of 75 years. It unfolds the great urban drama of this period and reveals things which came later in the form of social organizations and patterns of behavior.

Morrison, Samuel Eliot. Builders of the Bay Colony. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1958.

This text describes people who would have led obscure lives but for a dynamic force called Puritanism which drove them to start life anew in a wilderness. It places the early days of the Bay Colony in their proper historical milieu.

Riordon, William L. Plunkitt of Tammany Hall. New York, Dutton, 1963.

A series of very plain talks on very practical politics delivered by ex-Senator George Washington Plunkitt, the Tammany Philospher, from his rostrum--the N.Y. County Courthouse bootblack stand. This book has led to good government throughout the country.

Rogers, David. The Management of Big Cities: Interest Groups and Social Change Strategies. Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage, 1971.

A study of obstacles hindering the implementation of innovative programs and institutional change strategies in city management.

Schreiber, Arthur F., Paul K. Gatons, and Richard B. Clemmer. Economics of Urban Problems: An Introduction. 2d ed. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1976.

This book touches on all the subject areas in the field of urban economics. Emphasis is placed on the economics of urban problems rather than on the location theory and urban growth content of this field.

_____. Cities. New York, Knopf, 1973. (Reprint from Scientific American, 1965).

A collection of articles which previously appeared in Scientific American. From numerous points of view, these articles examine growth and development of cities, present-day constraints, as well as case studies of international megapolitan growth.

Sjoberg, Gideon. The Preindustrial City: Past and Present. New York, Free Press, 1965.

Ostensibly this is a book about cities, yet it is much more, for through the medium of viewing preindustrial civilized centers, Sjoberg has sought to analyse the structure and understand the significance of preindustrial civilized societies.

Suttles, Gerald D. The Social Construction of Communities. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1972.

An attempt to demonstrate an emerging concept of new territorialists. In so doing he defines a useful and innovative approach to the analysis of urban society. Suttles shows how the administrative fragmentation of administrative agencies tends to further urban community groups and limits development.

Ward, Barbara. The Home of Man. New York, Norton, 1976.

Both a philosophical and practical work, this title by Barbara Ward makes suggestions on such essential aspects of human settlement as land-

use planning, shelter, transportation, sanitation, and health. Above all, it provides a means of grasping a broad subject and gives coherence to a topic with boundless problems, necessities and constraints.

Warner, Sam B., Jr. Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900. Boston, Harvard University Press, 1969.

This text demonstrates, first, that the structural patterns of the new suburbs were largely determined by the streetcars as they advanced into the district along the major rural highways of earlier years; second, that the upward surge of urban residents was animated by a revival of the rural ideal; third, that the successive waves of upper, upper middle, middle middle, and lower middle migrants tended to cluster in and develop homogeneous neighborhoods differentiated on economic rather than ethnic lines.

Warren, Roland L. Studying Your Community. 3d. ed. New York, Free Press, 1965.

An exploration of specific aspects of the community--community health, education, child welfare, and recreation. A useful tool in studying any community. Warren's areas of focus should be the concern of any student of the city or community.

White, Morton and Lucia. The Intellectual Versus the City. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press and the M.I.T. Press, 1962.

A description of some of the major intellectual reactions to the American city from the eight-

eenth to the twentieth century and an examination of the intellectual perception of urbanization. It includes several reactions which are distinctly anti-urban.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. Boston: a Topographical History. 2d. rev. ed. Cambridge, Mass., The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.

A classic work on Boston's geography, with special attention paid to the complex history of land reclamation in Boston and particularly the Back Bay. Whitehill should be your starting point in trying to comprehend the Boston landscape. Anyone who is studying the city should pay close attention to Whitehill and his works.

Yin, Robert K., ed. The City in the Seventies. Part One: "Components of the City". (Itasca, Ill., F. E. Peacock, 1972), pp. 1-164.

Yin's work sets the milieu in which the large American central cities have developed. Its problem-solving approach emphasizes some of the components of the city and some of the major research styles for studying the city.

Zimmerman, Joseph F. The Federated City: Community in Large Cities. New York, St. Martin's, 1972.

The text examines the origins of the neighborhood government, the rationale of its proponents, the sketchy model that has been developed, the difficulties encountered in attempting to delineate neighborhood boundaries, and the major problems that neighborhood government would face. Specifically, the study is limited to two community school districts, one in New York City and the other in Detroit.

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